OHIO

Archæological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS.

Volume XI.

Including Index for Vols. I—XI inclusive.

COLUMBUS:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY
BY
FRED. J. HEER.
1903

PREFATORY NOTE TO VOLUME XI.

THE eleventh volume of the publications of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, which is herewith issued in book form, includes the quarterlies of the Society previously published as numbers I and II for July and October respectively for 1902, and the supplement to Volume XI comprising a complete index for Volumes I to XI inclusive. This Volume XI therefore as to its reading matter, consists solely of the two quarterlies above mentioned. Volume XII will therefore begin with the January quarterly for 1903. The previous ten volumes were issued without complete indexes. There has been a great demand for a complete index to the Society's publications. That index and the two quarterlies furnish sufficient material for a volume. The quarterlies hereafter issued will be on such dates as to complete the volume with each current year, thereby avoiding much confusion which has arisen from the fact that the volume began with July and ended with April. It will begin hereafter with January and end with October as it properly should. The index included in this volume it is believed will be found to be not only complete, but a most valuable list of subjects pertaining to Ohio history, alike suggestive to the special student of Ohio lore and the general reader who seeks such a list of topics for ready reference.

E. O. RANDALL,

Secretary.

Columbus, Ohio, January 1903.

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MONUMENTS TO HISTORICAL INDIAN CHIEFS.

BY EDWARD LIVINGSTON TAYLOR.

[This is the second contribution of Mr. Taylor upon the subject. The first will be found on page 1, Volume IX, O. A. and H. Society Publication.—E. O. R.]

In the July number of the Archaeological and Historical Quarterly for the year 1900 I gave some account of the history of the monuments that have been erected by white men to commemorate the memories of noted men of the Indian or Red Race. At that time I had knowledge of but four of such monuments. First, in order of time, was that erected to Chief Keokuk, at Keokuk, Iowa. The next was that of Leatherlips, near Columbus, Ohio. The third, was that of Red Jacket, at Buffalo, New York; and the fourth, was that of Chief Cornstalk, at Point Pleasant, West Virginia.

Soon after that article was published, I learned of three monuments which had been omitted and more recently of one that is proposed and almost surely will be erected. The omitted ones were that of Chiefs Uncas and Miantonomoh at and near the town of Norwich, State of Connecticut, and that of Chief Sealth (Seattle) at Fort Madison on Puget Sound, near the town of Seattle, in the State of Washington.

The proposed monument is that for Leopold and Simon Po-Kagon, father and son, who were the last and best known chiefs of the Pottawattamie tribe. Simon died at Allegan, in the state

of Michigan, January 28th, 1899, and was buried with great honor in Graceland cemetery, Chicago, Illinois. These were all among the remarkable men of their race and have been given a prominent place in our history, as well as monuments erected by white men to mark their last resting places, as we shall more particularly describe.

CHIEFS UNCAS AND MIANTONOMOH.

Uncas was the most noted chief of the Mohegan tribe and Miantonomoh of the Narragansetts, of which the early English settlers in the region of Connecticut and Rhode Island had knowledge. The Narragansetts occupied the region of what is now Rhode Island, and the Mohegans were to the westward of them, in what is now the state of Connecticut. The Mohegans were a branch of the Pequot tribe. To the west of the Mohegans were the Niantics. All of these tribes were of the Algonquin linguistic family, and spoke substantially the same language. Still further to the westward of these Algonquins in the state of New York were the Five Nations of the Iroquois, who were of an entirely different linguistic family. Although the Mohegans, the Narragansetts and the Niantics were of the same linguistic family, they were often at war with each other and their wars were of the most cruel and relentless character. They were really wars of extermination and no quarter was usually given to fallen foes or expected by them.

When the white settlers came to that region they found among the Indian tribes a most disturbed condition. The most bitter hatred and relentless wars obtained between them and this caused the ablest and best warriors to be selected as their respective chiefs. The traditions which the white people gathered when they first ventured into that region indicated that wars and strifes had long obtained between the neighboring tribes and the hatreds and animosities which such wars necessarily engendered among savage tribes were in bitter and relentless force.

Early in the fifteenth century Lord Say and Lord Brook, with their associates, became patentees of much of the territory which is now embraced in the State of Connecticut. They pur-

chased such rights as an English patent of those days could confer from Robert, Earl of Warwick, in 1632. Their rights, whatever they were, covered the land westward from "the Narragansett river one hundred and twenty miles in latitude and breadth to the South Sea." The Earl of Warwick was president of the Council of Plymouth incorporated by King James I, for the settlement of New England "and authorized to dispense grants and patents to others." In so far as the English government could confer title or patent to Lord Say and Lord Brook and their associates, their patent was valid. In pursuance of this grant, John Winthrop, the younger, acting for the patentees, in 1635 built a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River and called it Fort Saybrook. The name is a combination of the names of these two principal patentees—Say-Brook. The place holds its name to this day.

Soon thereafter what is called in history the "Pequot War" broke out and the infant settlement of Saybrook was in danger of being destroyed. In 1636 and 1637 the Fort was virtually besieged by the Pequot Indians, but was bravely and successfully defended by Lieutenant Lion Gardner, a trusted and faithful agent of Winthrop. This settlement gradually grew stronger by accession from the mother country and by the natural increase of births until it became a center of power and a new element of strength, which forced recognition by the native tribes in the surrounding region. The English about or little before that time had obtained a foothold to the east of Saybrook in the region of Narragansett Bay in the territory of Rhode Island, which region was the home of the powerful Narragansett tribe.

Both Uncas and Miantonomoh soon came to recognize this new element of power and influence and to appreciate the fact that friendly relations with the new comers might be to their advantage and both with some success established such relations with their white neighbors. The English honestly desired and endeavored to promote peace and harmony among the warring and hostile tribes and did so far succeed that in 1638 a treaty was made at Hartford by which it was stipulated "that the hostile Sachems should not make war on each other without first making an appeal to the English."

This treaty agreement was not however long observed by the Narragansetts and in 1643, a fierce war broke out between that tribe and the Mohegans. The Narragansetts disregarding the agreement advanced against the Mohegans with superior numbers with the purpose and prospect of overwhelming Uncas and his tribe. Uncas was not prepared for this unexpected invasion, but hurriedly gathered his warriors and prepared as best he could to resist the invasion. Miantonomoh, the inveterate enemy of Uncas, was in command as chief of the Narragansetts. He had under his command near a thousand warriors while Uncas could assemble not more than about four hundred warriors to oppose them, and appreciating the disadvantage under which he and his warriors labored, he sought a parley with the chief of the Narragansetts and proposed that Miantonomoh and himself should engage in single combat to decide the fortunes of battle between the tribes. The proposition was declined and at a signal from Uncas, which had been pre-arranged, his warriors being prepared rushed upon the Narragansetts, who were taken by surprise and routed, and many of them were slain and their chief was taken prisoner. Miantonomoh was kindly treated by Uncas, who subsequently surrendered him to the English, by whose decision he consented to be governed as to what disposition should be made of him. The matter was referred to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, at Boston, who in doubt as to what should be done in the premises, referred the case to the "Ecclesiastical Counsellors," at Hartford. The five Ecclesiastical Counsellors consulted, gave their voice in favor of his execution, and it was ordered that Uncas should carry out the sentence, and a delegation of white men was appointed to see that the sentence was carried out. So Miantonomoh was taken back to the spot where he had been captured and was there executed. The fatal blow which ended his life was struck with a hatchet in the hands of a brother of Uncas. He was buried on the spot of his capture and execution, which is about a mile east from the City of Norwich, to which place members of his tribe made visits for many years, and at each visit added to a pile of stone over his grave, until a very considerable monument was in this way raised to

him by his own tribe. These stones, however, so mournfully and reverently gathered and placed over the remains of their beloved chief, were subsequently irreverently removed by a white land holder and converted to the baser use of making a foundation for a barn. The taking off of Miantonomoh in this barbarous manner must always, as stated by the historian Caulkins, "stand as one of the most flagrant acts of injustice and ingratitude recorded against the English settlers."

The reason given by the Ecclesiastical Counsellors for voting for the death of Miantonomoh, was that he had made war upon the Mohegans and invaded their country without first appealing to the English, according to the agreement and they feared if he was spared he might be the cause of trouble in

the future. But this act of cruelty only tended to greatly inflame the old hatred of the Narragansetts and they determined to avenge the murder of their beloved chief. Conflicts of every kind soon followed until in the spring of 1645, when the Narragansetts again invaded the Mohegan's country in strong force under the leadership of Pessacus, the brother of the murdered chief. After creating havoc and devastation they forced Uncas to take refuge in a fort on the bank of the Pequot (now the Thames) River, which the English had helped to construct. This fort was about eight or ten miles up from the mouth of that stream. Uncas and his people were besieged there until on the very verge of starvation, but in this extremity he managed to get word to the English at Fort Saybrook, which was at the mouth of the Connecticut River, some twenty-five or more miles to the westward.

Upon learning of the desperate situation of Uncas and his people and knowing that surrender meant death to all within the fort, it was determined at all hazards to attempt to relieve them; so a canoe was loaded with provisions and three brave and hardy young men (Thomas Leffingwell, Thomas Tracy and Thomas Minor) volunteered to hazard the undertaking of reaching the fort with these provisions. They followed along the north shore of Long Island Sound some twenty or more miles eastward, until they reached the mouth of the Pequot River into whose waters they turned their canoe and under cover of a dark night they succeeded in reaching the fort and Uncas and his people were saved from the annihilation which awaited them at the hands of their inveterate and exasperated foes.

Uncas and his tribe ever afterwards remembered with gratitude this timely deliverance from the dreadful fate which otherwise would have befallen them. They remained friendly to the white settlers and in 1659 sold and deeded to the "Town and Inhabitants of Norwich" nine miles square of land, near the center of which tract the City of Norwich now stands. That was the beginning of the occupancy and civilization of that immediate part of Connecticut, which in the two hundred and fifty years which have since elapsed, has developed great and beneficial results. It is within this tract of land that Uncas and Miantonomoh lie buried and at no great distance from each other. The date of the execution of Miantonomoh is stated, by Governor Winthrop, as September 28th, 1643, and this may be assumed to be correct and is the date carved on his monument.

The Colonial Commissioners met in Boston September 17th of that year when they affirmed the vote of the Ecclesiastical Counsellors, which sealed the fate of Miantonomoh. Their proceedings were kept secret until the members of Hartford and New Haven returned home. This precaution was necessary, as they would have to pass through or near the territory of the Narragansetts, who certainly would have killed them if they had fallen into their hands. A knowledge of their action was soon known to the Narragansetts and on October 12th, Pessacus sent a message to the commissioners at Boston of his intention to avenge the death of his brother, and in the spring of 1645,

at the head of the Narragansetts, he invaded the country of the Mohegans, as we have before seen.

In the intervening time they had often in various ways and by various strategies sought the life of Uncas, but his caution and craftiness was such that he was able to defeat all their efforts to that end. Miantonomoh was greatly beloved by his tribe and also by the white people in his territory with whom he came in contact, and it is recorded of him that "he had shown many acts of kindness towards the whites; in all his intercourse with them he evinced a noble and magnanimous spirit; he had been the uniform friend and assistant of the first white settlers in Rhode Island; and only seven years before his death had received into the bosom of his country Major Mason and his little band of soldiers from Hartford and greatly assisted them in their conquest of the Pequots."

In view of these qualities and his services to the white race, it is difficult to understand why these Ecclesiastical Counsellors voted for his death; but they must be judged by the hard and cruel times in which they lived, and the stern religion by which their acts were guided.

We have before related that the pile of loose stone which had been accumulated over the grave of Miantonomoh by the people of his tribe, was removed by a white land owner, who converted them to his own use. Just when this was done is not now definitely known, but it was long after the execution and burial.

However, it is gratifying to know that on July 4th, 1841, this sacrilege was atoned for by more enlightened and less selfish white people residing in Norwich and vicinity, who placed over his grave a solid block of granite about eight feet long and five feet in height and the same in thickness with the single word cut in large and deep letters and figures thereon:

MIANTONOMOH.

1643.

On that occasion a Mr. Gillman of Norwich delivered an address and the formal laying of the stone was performed by Thomas Sterry Hunt, a young man, who afterwards became

one of the most eminent of American chemists. This was, so far as we have knowledge, the first monument actually erected by white men over the grave of a noted representative of the Red Race; and nothing could better illustrate our advance in civilization than this act of rescuing the grave of this noted chief from neglect and oblivion, who two hundred years before had been condemned and executed by the decree of representatives of the early English settlers for no crime or hostile act against themselves and who was in fact their friend.

UNCAS.

Although the Miantonomoh monument was the first actually erected, it was not the first to be projected. The people of Norwich had long contemplated a monument to Uncas, but the project did not take active form until the summer of 1833, when General Jackson, then President of the United States, visited Norwich and other New England cities and his visit to Norwich was made the occasion of awakening an active interest in the project of erecting a monument for their "Old Friend," as they expressed it — the Mohegan Sachem, Uncas.

The President was accompanied on that visit by Vice President Van Buren, Governor Edwards of Connecticut, Major Donelson, General Lewis Cass, Secretary of War; Mr. Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy; and Mr. Poinsett, Secretary of State. This was a very notable party and their visit naturally aroused such interest with the citizens of Norwich and the surrounding country, that there was gathered a great assembly of men, women and children, bands and military and other organizations. A few Indians were present. Altogether the visiting party received a great ovation.

Hon. N. L. Shipman delivered an address narrating the history of the Uncas family and the then existing condition of the Mohegans. President Jackson then formally "moved the foundation stone to its place." It has been described by the historian, Frances Manwaring Caulkins, as "an interesting, suggestive ceremony; a token of respect from the modern warrior to the ancient—from the emigrant race to the aborigines."

General Cass then delivered an address in which he observed that "the earth afforded but few more striking spectacles than that of one hero doing homage at the tomb of another." At the close of this address the children sang a hymn and the day's exercises were closed.

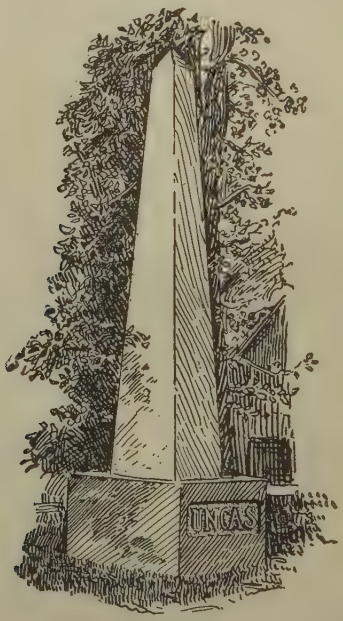
But the worthy project languished most singularly and it was seven years before the work so auspiciously begun received another impetus. The delay was caused by want of funds, which with all their enthusiasm they forgot to provide for; nor did they at that time have any plan or design prepared. It was not until October 15, 1840, that the next considerable effort was made to procure means with which to carry out the undertaking. On that date there was to be held at Norwich a great political meeting in honor of General Harrison and John Tyler, then candidates respectively for President and Vice President of the United States; and for the purpose of raising funds with which to complete the monument, the ladies of Norwich arranged for a refreshment fair. They made most ample provision for refreshments and themselves served the customers at the tables and thus raised the money with which to complete the monument.

On the 4th day of July, 1842, just one year after the Miantonomoh monument had been placed over his grave, the Uncas monument was erected. It was made a great occasion. The Hon. William L. Stone, of New York, delivered an historic address on the life and times of Uncas, and the monument was then placed in position. It consisted of a granite obelisk or shaft about twenty feet in height supported by a large granite block, on which is cut in large letters, the simple name:

All about the grave of Uncas repose the ashes of many chiefs and members of his tribe. The place had before been used and has since been used by the Indians as a burying place, but little or no evidence now remains to distinguish their respective graves. The death of Uncas is fixed as having occurred in the fall of 1683. His death was the result of advanced age.

Some harsh reflections have been left by some of the early Puritan ministers upon the character of Uncas. They may all

be summed up in the notes of Rev. Mr. Fitch, of the date of 1678. He then said of him that he was "the greate opponent of any means of soul's good and concernment to his people and abounding more and more in dancings and all manner of heathenish impieties since the warrs and vilifying what hath been done by the English and attributing the victory to their Indean helpes."



It will be observed that dancing and claiming for the Mohegans a part of the honors for the victories over the Pequots are the only specific charges. As for dancing, it was an ancient custom among the Indians and still obtains among them and is not now considered even by the most advanced society of our modern civilization as a very "impious" or "heathenish" sin; and as for the claim of Uncas that his tribe was entitled to a part of the honors for the "victories" over the Pequots, it was certainly well founded, as Major John Mason, who commanded the English soldiers against the Pequots while Uncas led the Mohegans, has recorded of him that "he was a great friend and did great service."

It is easy now to understand what the Rev. Mr. Fitch failed to appreciate, that his stern and rigid religion and manner of life was not suited to the Indian mind and habit of life and thought. Mr. Fitch was certainly as much at fault in not understanding the Indian mind and character as Uncas was in not understanding Mr. Fitch's harsh and arbitrary religion.

It may be accepted as a just estimate of both Uncas and Miantonomoh that they were neither all good nor all bad; that they were superior men of their race; that they were brave and had many virtues and good qualities of character; and that they performed the duties of life which devolved upon them as best they could according to their understandings and the conditions under which they lived. Both rendered valuable aid and assistance to the white settlers and the monuments which the white race has placed over their graves are most fitting tributes to their memories.

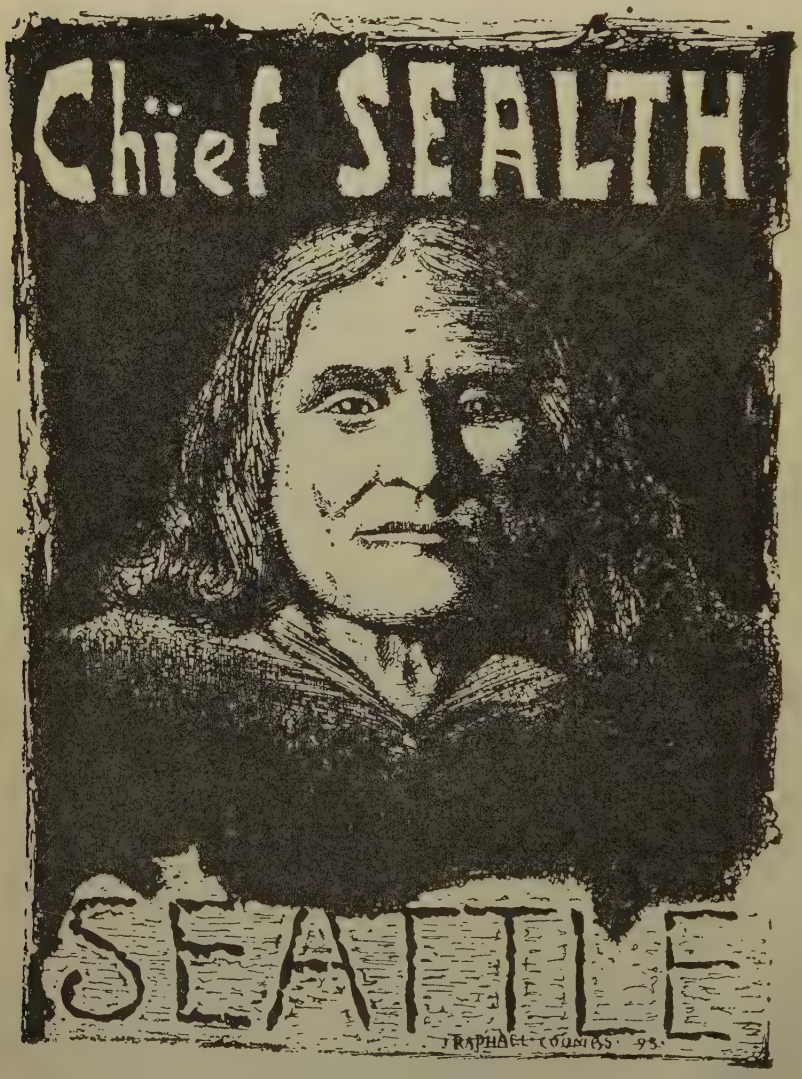
CHIEF SEATTLE (SEALTH).

The next monument we have to mention is that of Chief Seattle, as named by the whites, or Sealth, as called by the Indians. This monument is at Fort Madison on the Puget Sound in the State of Washington, about fifteen miles north from the city of Seattle, which important city bears the name of this noted chief.

The waters of Puget Sound were visited by the Spaniards in 1774. A few years later they were visited by Captain Cook, the celebrated English navigator, and he was followed during the next few years by several other navigators under English directions, and these were soon followed by the American ship "Columbia," in command of Captain Kendrick, of Boston; and he was followed by other American navigators. The Columbia River received its name from the ship "Columbia," but it was given to it by Captain Gray, who was in command of that vessel on its second voyage to those waters.

The expedition of Lewis and Clark, under commission from Thomas Jefferson, then President of the United States, which started from St. Louis in March, 1803, reached the mouth of the Columbia River on November 15, 1804. This was the first overland expedition which ever crossed the continent. It was

followed in 1810 by the Astor expedition, which sailed from New York in the ship "Tonquin," which reached the mouth of the



Columbia River in March, 1811. The overland expedition of Mr. Astor, which started from the city of Montreal in August,

1810, reached the mouth of the Columbia River February 15, 1812, the history of both of which has been graphically told by Washington Irving in his narrative "Astoria." Many other expeditions followed, but it was not until 1845 that any American citizen made settlement north of the Columbia River. In August of that year Colonel M. T. Simmons, George Wauch and seven others made the first settlement at or near Budd's Inlet on Puget Sound.

In 1849 the lumber trade was first opened on the shores of Puget Sound by a single vessel from San Francisco (the brig "Orbit"), which obtained a load of piles at Budd's Inlet. From that time on the settlements along the shores and inlet of Puget Sound rapidly and steadily increased. The lumber and fur trades had much to do with inducing these early settlements.

The early settlers came in contact with Chief Seattle, who is described by Samuel F. Coombs, who knew him intimately, as "the greatest Indian character of the country." He was, as Mr. Coombs says, "a statesman and a warrior." It was as a statesman that he ruled his people for the long period of more than half a century and always exerted over them a potent influence for good.

Mr. Coombs first saw this chief in 1860 at a council of chiefs at the then village of Seattle. He was then about seventy years of age, and was, as Mr. Coombs describes, "of calm and dignified manners." The council over which he was presiding was composed of all the principal chiefs of the various tribes over which he had long ruled, and he received the greatest reverence and respect from all of them.

In the early part of the century and perhaps much farther back wars and conflicts of every kind obtained between the Mountain Indians from regions about the headwaters of the Green and White Rivers, and the Salt Water tribes, living along the shores of Puget Sound. The Mountain tribes were always the aggressors, and being superior in numbers and ferocity, the Salt Water tribes were usually vanquished and many of them killed and others captured and carried away to the mountain regions and made slaves by their captors.

In the early years of the last century the Salt Water tribes learned of another war expedition coming against them from the mountain country and a council was called for the purpose of devising means and plans for resistance. The plan of Seattle was adopted, although he had not much more than arrived at manhood. He was put at the head of the warriors of the Salt Water tribes and entrusted with the execution of his plans for resistance. He conducted his warriors up the White River, by which they had learned their enemies were descending in canoes, to a point where there is a sharp bend in the stream and where the water was very swift. He obstructed the river below the bend so that the descending canoes could not observe these obstructions until they were near upon them and the strong current at that point would prevent them from speedily turning back. He then ambushed his warriors on each side of the stream, armed with bows and arrows and other instruments of Indian warfare and awaited the coming of the enemy. The advance guard of the entire force consisted of five canoes, carrying about one hundred picked warriors. The three canoes most advanced were caught and swamped as they swept around the bend on the swift water, and their occupants were either killed or drowned. Two canoes in the rear got the alarm and retreated up the river and escaped. The resistance was so unexpected and determined and the disaster so great that the Mountain warriors abandoned the expedition and retreated to their own country.

There was great rejoicing among the Salt Water tribes on the marked victory over their old enemies and a great council of the tribes was called and Seattle was made chief of them all. The old chiefs became sub-chiefs under him. Three of the Lake tribes, which were numbered with those of the Salt Water tribes, at first refused to join in the consolidation and Seattle made a visit to each of them well prepared to subdue them if necessary; but he managed to win them by persuasion and without force and united them firmly with the other tribes and from that time until his death (in 1866) he was the acknowledged head and chief Sachem of all the tribes living on or near Puget Sound and they were never afterwards seriously troubled by their old enemies of the mountains.

Seattle welcomed the white settlers to the Puget Sound and was always friendly to them and in turn commanded their respect and confidence. He was a great peacemaker among his people and discouraged in every way vice and immorality among them.

Seattle died at what has long been known as the "Old-Man-House" near Fort Madison, June 7, 1866. He was about eighty years of age at the time of his death. Mr. Samuel F. Coombs, who was a friend of Seattle, gives the following account of his death and funeral:

"After a long illness, during which the old chief was frequently visited by natives and early white settlers from all over the sound, he died at the Old-Man-House. His funeral was attended by several hundred white people and by more of his own people. A. G. Meigs, proprietor of the Fort Madison Mill, shut down his mill and on his steamer took all the employes and others over to the funeral. A great many also went over from Seattle. As the old Chief was a Catholic he was buried with the ceremonies of that church, mingled with which were customs peculiar to the Indians. The ceremonies were imposing and impressive and the chanting of the litanies by the Indian singers was very beautiful."

Subsequently in 1890 his friends among the white pioneers erected a monument to perpetuate his memory. It is of Italian marble, seven feet high and consists of a substantial base and pedestal surmounted by a cross, bearing the letters "I. H. S," below which appears:

(SEATTLE)

Chief of the
Squamish and Allied
Tribes.
Died June 7, 1866.

On the base in large letters is engraved the Indian name:

SEALTH.

On one side of the monument is the following inscription:

SEATTLE,

Chief of the Squamish and Allied Tribes,
Died June 7th, 1866,
The firm Friend of the Whites, and for Him the
City of Seattle was named by its Founders.

On another side are the words:

Baptismal name Moah Sealth, age probably 80 years.

This monument of marble may in time disintegrate and disappear and the exact spot of the grave of Seattle become unmarked and unknown, but there has within the last half century arisen on the shores of Puget Sound, and in the center of the region in which he was born and where he so long lived and wisely and justly ruled over his people, the splendid city of

Seattle, which bears his name and will perpetuate and keep alive the story of his deeds and virtues during many future generations.

CHIEFS LEOPOLD AND SIMON POKAGON.

We have now in this and a former article noticed all the monuments of which we have knowledge, which have to this time been erected by white men to commemorate the memories of celebrated men of the Indian race. That there may be others is quite possible, but if so they have escaped our research. We have, however, yet to mention two of the most remarkable men that the red race has produced, namely: Leopold Pokagon and Simon Pokagon, his son, to whose memory a monument is soon to be erected in Jackson Park, Chicago. Jackson Park embraces the ground upon which the great Columbian Exposition was held in 1893, and has now been restored to its original park conditions of marvelous beauty.

These were successive chiefs and Sachems of the once powerful Pottawattamie tribe, which long occupied the region around the southern and eastern shores of Lake Michigan in the center of which now stands the great city of Chicago.

Leopold Pokagon is described as a man of excellent character and habits, a good warrior and hunter, and as being possessed of considerable business capacity. He was well known to the early white settlers in the region about Lake Michigan, and his people were noted as being the most advanced in civilization of any of the neighboring tribes. He ruled over his people for a period of forty-three years. In 1833, he sold for his tribe to the United States one million acres of land at three cents per acre, and on the land so conveyed has since been built the city of Chicago. The purchase also included what is now Jackson Park, where the wonderful "White City" stood in 1893, and where a splendid monument will soon be erected to the memory of himself and his son, Simon, and other Pottawattamie chiefs.

On the great "Chicago Day" at the Columbian Fair in October, 1893, where 750,000 people were assembled, Simon Pakagon, the son and successor of Leopold, stood at the west plaza of the Administration building in the presence of the greatest

audience ever collected in one spot in the history of the world, holding in his hand the parchment duplicate of the deed which his father, sixty years before, had signed, transferring the land on which they then stood to the United States. With due ceremony the chief presented to Mayor Harrison, then Mayor of Chicago, the well-worn parchment, the duplicate of which had been delivered by his father to the United States Commissioners at the time the sale and transfer of the land was made. On receiving the parchment, Mayor Harrison spoke as follows:

"This deed comes from the original possessors, — the only people on earth entitled to it. The Indians had for long ages come to this place, the portage or carrying-place between the great rivers of the west and the great inland lakes. They pitched their tents upon these shores of blue Michigan, and after their barter was done returned to the Des Plaines River and on to the Mississippi and its twelve thousand miles of tributaries. Chicago has thrived as no city ever before. Twenty-two years ago this city was devastated by a deluge of flame. The story of its suffering went to all quarters of the globe, and the world supposed that, like Niobe, it was in tears, and would continue in tears. But Chicago had Indian blood in its veins. I say this as a descendant of the Indians; for I stand here and tell you that Indian blood courses through my veins. I go back to Pocahontas, and Indian blood has wonderfully recuperative powers."

To the disgrace of the United States, the purchase price of three cents an acre for more than a million acres of land was not paid according to agreement. The original purchase price amounted to more than three hundred thousand dollars, and it was not until 1866, during General Grant's administration, that Pokagon succeeded in getting by way of partial payment $39,000; and after further long and disappointing and disheartening efforts he finally secured in 1896 from the government through the Court of Claims $150,000 more, which was about one-half of the original purchase price, without interest, when with interest a vastly greater sum was due.

Leopold Pokagon died in 1840 in Cass county, Michigan. He was a man of noble character and of pure and upright life, and always labored to elevate and improve his people. He was

devoted to the teachings of the Jesuit Fathers and invited and encouraged their missionaries (the Black-Gowns) to come among them and teach his people to lead temperate and upright lives. In his appeal to M. Gabriel Richard, then Vicar-General of a Catholic church at Detroit, he plead as follows: "Father, father, I come to beg you to send as a black-gown to teach us the Word of God. We are ready to give up whisky and all our barbarous customs. If thou hast no pity on us take pity on our poor children, who will live as we have lived, in ignorance and vice."

While the old chief lived he would not allow traders or others to bring intoxicating liquors among his people and was always an advocate of temperance and religion, and exemplified his principles by his own life and conduct. He was present at Fort Dearborn (Chicago) at the time of the terrible massacre in 1812. This massacre was an incident of the war of 1812, in which the Indians under Tecumseh were united with the English under General Proctor, whose united armies were overthrown and destroyed at the Battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813.

In 1838 an order was issued by Governor David Wallace (father of General Lew Wallace, author of "Ben Hur"), then Governor of Indiana, directing that the Pottawattamies remaining in Indiana should be removed by force to lands beyond the Mississippi, according to treaty conditions before that time made, but which had not been fulfilled on the part of the United States. This order, however, was most remorsely carried out by General Tipton, who, with a military force, surprised and entrapped the Indians at their villages in a most heartless and dishonorable way. Spies were sent among the unsuspecting Indians, who informed them that their Christian priest wished all the tribes to meet him at their wigwam church, and when such as could do so were assembled in the church, they were suddenly surrounded by soldiers, of whose nearness or approach they had no knowledge or suspicion. It is related by an eye witness that the soldiers then tied the Indians so entrapped "together with big strings like ponies" and detained them as prisoners and the next day marched them off to the to them unknown region beyond the Mississippi. In the meantime the military force gathered in many more men, women and children, which, with their captives at

the church, made up a company of about one thousand, whom, with "broken hearts and tearful eyes" were forced from their ancient homes and such of their friends and kindred as had not been captured. Few of them ever again returned. Many women and children, and in some instances men, escaped into the woods and swamps and thus avoided capture. Many families were thus broken up never again to be united. On the hard journey to the West more than a hundred of them died and a few escaped into the wilderness, so that there were more than one hundred and fifty missing when they arrived in the new territory.

A large part of those so cruelly forced from their homes and in many instances from their families were of the Menominee band, whose chief, old Menominee, had steadfastly refused to sign any treaty, or to sell the lands owned and occupied by his band, and so had never parted with any rights, titles or interests which they had therein. This crime against these peaceful and well-disposed people was, as usual in such cases, the result of the insidious and nefarious schemes of white land grabbers and speculators by whom, it is probable, Governor Wallace was deceived and misled.

By a special agreement and contract before that time made, Leopold Pokagon and his band were to remain in the State of Michigan, within the region of St. Joseph River, but in the indiscriminate rounding up of the Indians by the military many of his band were captured and forced away with others, regardless of all rights and agreements, and of all the dictates of conscience and humanity. By this merciless crime Pokagon's band was much reduced and broken and his spirit wounded unto death. Two years later he died, after ruling wisely and justly over his people for the long period of forty-three years, and his son, Simon, then ten years of age, became the rightful hereditary chief of the Pottawattamie tribe.

SIMON POKAGON.

In Simon Pokagon we have one of the most remarkable and worthy characters which the red race has produced. He was a full-blooded Indian of the Pottawattamie tribe, which tribe

was of the great Algonquin family, which when the white ex-

Chief Simon Pokagon

plorers first came to America occupied the present territory of the New England States and the region of the St. Lawrence

and the Ottawa Rivers, and the vast territory as far west as the eastern shores of Lake Huron. As before stated, he was but ten years of age when his father, Leopold Pokagon, died. His mother survived for many years thereafter and until he had grown to manhood and had become the active chief of the remnant of his broken band. His fame is not that of a warrior, as he never had occasion to lead his people to battle or go upon the warpath.

The long and bloody wars and conflicts between the white and red race east of the Mississippi ceased with the Battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813. That decisive battle closed the dreadful drama which for half a century had been enacted upon the territory of the great Northwest. The raid of Black Hawk into northwestern Illinois in 1832 cannot be considered as an exception, as he and his warriors came from the Fox and Sac Nations beyond the Mississippi and was opposed by the old Pottawattamie chief, Shabbona, who assisted the whites against Black Hawk, and aided greatly in his defeat and capture.

But it is as a scholar and philosopher and wise ruler over his people that Pokagon's fame consists. Until he was fourteen years of age he knew not a word of any language but his mother tongue. At that age he was sent to a Notre Dame School, near South Bend, Indiana, where he remained for three years. Here he began to learn the English, Latin and Greek languages, in which he ultimately became singularly proficient. He had a marvelous aptitude for acquiring languages. He was especially zealous in the acquirement of a thorough knowledge of the English language. After three years he returned to visit his mother, who appreciated his high purposes and added her efforts to his own to enable him to realize his ambitious desires. He then spent one year at Oberlin College, Ohio, and then went to Twinsburg, Summit county, in the same state, where he remained two years longer. This gave him six years in English teaching and speaking schools, and laid the foundation of his marvelous English education. No full-blooded Indian ever acquired a more thorough knowledge of the English language or wrote or spoke it with more fluency or accuracy. He, however, never neglected his native tongue, and succeeded in after years in reducing his

native language to considerable perfection. His writings indicate not only that he had great respect for his own language, but in some respects thought it superior to others.

His life was not eventful in the ordinary sense of Indian chieftains, and his fame rests upon the wonderful example which he offered of the possibilities of advancement of the Red race in the lines of civilization. Born at a time when all the Indian habits of mind and thought and life were still in full force and vigor, he was able to emerge from these environments and to turn his face and influence towards a different form of life and destiny. He was enabled at an early age to see the great advantage and necessity of laying aside the implements of war and the chase to turn to the cultivation of the soil and to the procurement of permanent homes; and it was in this line that he always directed the minds of his people. Otherwise he plainly saw the speedy ending of his race.

In the August number of "The Forum," 1897, appeared an article written by Pokagon, entitled, "The Future of the Red Man," which for lofty expressions and profound reflections and sentiments can scarcely be surpassed. The first few sentences will give an idea of his deep reflections and his lofty plane of thought. He says:

"Often in the stillness of the night, when all nature seems asleep about me, there comes a gentle rapping at the door of my heart. I open it; and a voice inquires, 'Pokagon, what of your people? What will be their future?' My answer is, 'Mortal man has not the power to draw aside the veil of unborn time to tell the future of his race. That gift belongs to the Divine alone. But it is given to him to closely judge the future by the present and the past.'"

The article is full of wise and philosophical thoughts and reflections on the future of his race and concludes as follows:

"The index-finger of the past and present is pointing to the future, showing most conclusively that by the middle of the next century all Indian reservations and tribal relations will have passed away. Then our people will begin to scatter; and the result will be a general mixing up of the races. Through intermarriage the blood of our people, like the waters that flow

into the great ocean, will be forever lost in the dominant race; and generations yet unborn will read in history of the red men of the forest, and inquire, 'Where are they?'"

During the later years of his life, he wrote for many magazines, among them "The Forum," "The Arena," "Harper's," "The Chautauquan" and "The American Review of Reviews." He also made many speeches and addresses, a most notable one of which was on January 7th, 1898, at the Gem Opera House, at Liberty, Indiana, under the auspices of the Orinoco Tribe of the Independent Order of Red Men. A few extracts from that address will show his elevation of mind and nobility of soul. He said:

"My heart is always made glad when I read of the Daughters of Pocahontas kindling their council fires. * * * The names of Pocahontas and Pokagon (my own name) were derived from the same Algonquin word—Po-ka—meaning a "shield" or "protector." And again we are highly complimented by the Order of Red Men in dating their official business from the time of the discovery of America. I suppose the reason for fixing that date was because our forefathers had held for untold ages before that time the American continent a profound secret from the white man. Again, the Red Men's Order highly compliments our race by dividing time into suns and moons, as our forefathers did, all of which goes to show that they understood the fact that we lived close to the Great Heart of Nature, and that we believed in one Great Spirit who created all things, and governs all."

"Hence that noble motto, born with our race,—Freedom, Friendship and Charity,—was wisely chosen for their guiding star. Yes, Freedom, Friendship, Charity! Those heaven-born principles shall never, never die! It was by those principles our fathers cared for the orphan and the unfortunate, without books, without laws, without judges; for the Great Spirit had written his law in their hearts, which they obeyed." * * *

"But our camp-fires have all gone out. Our council fires blaze no more. Our wigwams and they who built them, with their children, have forever disappeared from this beautiful land, and I alone of all the chiefs am permitted to behold it again.

"But what a change! Where cabins and wigwams once stood, now stand churches, schoolhouses, cottages and castles. And where we walked or rode in single file along our winding trails, now locomotives scream like some beast of prey, rushing along their iron tracks, drawing after them long rows of palaces with travelers therein, outstripping the flight of eagles in their course.

"As I behold this mighty change all over the face of this broad land, I feel about my heart as I did in childhood when I saw for the first time the rainbow spanning the cloud of the departed storm. * * *

"In conclusion, permit me to say, I rejoice with the joy of childhood that you have granted 'a son of the forest' a right to speak to you; and the prayer of my heart, as long as I live, shall ever be that the Great Spirit will bless you and your children, and that the generations yet unborn may learn to know that we are all brothers, and that there is but one fold, under one Shepherd, and the great God is the Father of all."

At the opening of the great World's Fair at Chicago, May 1st, 1893, the old chief was present with other educated representatives of his tribe and race, but the occurrences of the day deeply wounded and humiliated him. There had been great preparations made for this event. The ceremonies were held under the dome of the great Administration Building. President Cleveland was to respond to the address of welcome, and there were present the representatives of many nations. The Duke of Veragua was there with his suite, especially invited as the lineal representative of Columbus, usually accredited as the first discoverer of America. All of these numerous foreign representatives were provided with seats upon the great platform, where they could observe the ceremonies, while Pokagon and his Indian associates, who alone represented the original Americans, were forgotten and compelled to look silently on from the background, while the representatives of foreign nations took their provided places to participate in the glittering pageant. This occurrence, on the very ground which his tribe only a few years before had owned and occupied for centuries, and where in his youth he had encamped and hunted with his

father, and where he had roamed and played with other children of the forest, wounded his very soul and made a deep and unfortunate impression upon his mind. However, this unintentional neglect was productive of great good, and subsequently most amply and notably atoned for. It inspired him to write "The Red Man's Greeting." It was published in booklet form made from the bark of the white birch tree and was widely circulated and read, and created a marked impression on the public mind. It was fitly termed by Prof. Swing, "The Red Man's Book of Lamentations."

The managers of the fair and the people of Chicago soon took steps to atone for this unintentional but seeming neglect and arranged so that the old chief should be the central figure of attraction on the great "Chicago Day," which was appointed for October 9th, 1893. This was carried out in form and spirit and no King or Potentate was ever the center of attraction of so vast an assemblage of people. The pertinent features of this occasion, as relates to Pokagon, have already been mentioned and need not here be repeated.

Subsequent to that time he engaged much in literary labors more or less of a historical character, but in the meantime wrote the charming story, "Queen of the Woods," founded upon his own life's experiences. He had finished the work but died suddenly before its publication. It is a simple, natural, pure and pleasing narrative, and has a charm something akin to that which is experienced in reading "The Vicar of Wakefield." There is in its pages nothing less pure than the song of birds, the blooming of wild flowers and the divinely fresh fragrance of the forest.

Pokagon died on the 28th day of January, 1899, at his old home in Allegan County, Michigan, at the age of seventy years, and thus passed away the last and most noted chief of the once powerful Pottawattamie tribe. As a separately organized tribe they no longer exist. At the time of his death all the leading papers of Chicago published notices of the event with sketches of his life and character and these were widely copied throughout the press of the country. At once steps were taken to have his remains buried in Graceland Cemetery, Chicago.

That organization donated a lot for that purpose, located near the grave of John Kinzie, the first white resident of Chicago, and his remains were there laid to rest.

As to the proposed monument the Chicago Inter-Ocean, under date of March 16th, 1899, says:

THE POKAGON MONUMENT.

"The last hereditary chief of the Pottawattamies having died a few weeks ago, an organization has been formed in Chicago to erect a monument to his memory and to that of his father, Pokagon I, who was the great chief of the Pottawattamies during the days of the second Fort Dearborn and early Chicago.

The only memory left for coming generations of this race is the beautiful monument erected by the late Mr. George Pullman on the site of the massacre of the first fort's days.

The new Indian monument will be erected in Jackson Park, where throngs of visitors may become as familiar with its story as they are with that of the Massacre Monument.

The new monument will be erected in memory of the late Simon Pokagon, and will have inscribed upon it his own beautiful words to the children of Chicago, that "the red man and white man are brothers, and God is the Father of all."

Surmounting the pedestal will be a superb statue of the regal figure of Pokagon I in full chieftain's attire. The four bas-reliefs on the pedestal will represent events in the history of Chicago's Indian days, which will be decided upon by a committee of pioneers. The names, also, of noted Pottawattamie chiefs who were at the head of bands under Pokagon will be inscribed upon the base of the monument."

It is not known, and probably never can be definitely known, what period has elapsed between the passing of the Mound Builders and the coming of the white man; but it must have covered several centuries of time. During that period the occupants of the land left no substantial or material monuments or marks to indicate their burial places or to evidence an intention to perpetuate the fact of their occupancy of the country. The continent has now been explored from ocean to ocean and from the gulf to the Arctic seas, and practically all that

we accurately know of the Indian race is what has been learned of them from contact with them by the white race.

It is true that they have many traditions concerning their origin and history, but they are too vague and uncertain to be accepted as in any way reliable, or as shedding any certain light upon their past history. Through what ages human beings have lived and roamed and energized over this continent can never be accurately determined, but enough is known to make it certain that human life has existed here where we are now for many thousands of years. All that preceded the period of the Mound Builders is wrapped in oblivion and can now be only a matter of speculation or conjecture. But with the Mound Builders came a race, who marked the surface of the earth with countless evidences of their once energetic existence, which are now being industriously examined by scientists to discover what secrets they may reveal.

Following the Mound Builders came what we know as the Indian race, who, like the ancient occupants of the country, failed to leave any records or testimonials concerning themselves from which we might determine something of their history. They have now practically passed away as a separate and distinct race, and within a few years, as suggested by Simon Pokagon, the remnant which is left will be absorbed and swallowed up in the blood of the dominant race. That the tincture of their blood will flow on in that of the white race and possibly for its betterment is reasonably certain; but as a distinct race their end is comparatively near at hand.

These considerations make it all important that in so far as possible the history of the Red race should be preserved for the benefit and study of future generations. The interest in their history is gradually growing and will ever be increasing. The number of white men now living, who came in personal contact with and have had personal knowledge of the Indians of various tribes east of the Mississippi, is now very small and soon will have passed away. With them will have passed those who can testify from personal knowledge as to the nobility and worth of individual representatives of the Red Race, with whom they have had contact and companionship. When they are gone, we will be remitted to the doubtful narratives and incidental

references to be found in our histories to form and estimate of the Red Race and its leading characters. At least most of our narratives concerning the Indian race and tribes as also of their individual chiefs, were written at or near the times when wars and conflicts and race hatreds prevailed and so are strongly tinctured by prejudices and often narrated without regard to substantial facts or truths. A new and better era has dawned upon us, when we can hope to feel the force of the lofty sentiments expressed by Simon Pokagon in his address before quoted, "That we are all brothers and that there is but one fold, under one Shepherd, and the great God is the Father of all."

The few monuments that have been erected by white men to commemorate and perpetuate the names and virtues of worthy representatives of the Red race do not at all satisfy the obligations which rest upon us in that behalf. There are in so far as we know, but seven such monuments which have been erected up to the present time, but one of which is on the soil of Ohio —that of Leatherlips—while the wise and good Chief Crane of the Wyandots; the great war chief Pontiac of the Ottawas; Logan of the Mingos; Tecumseh, Black Hoof and Blue Jacket of the Shawnees; Little Turtle of the Miamies; all of whom at times lived and energized on the soil of Ohio, remain monumentless and the exact places of their burials unknown.

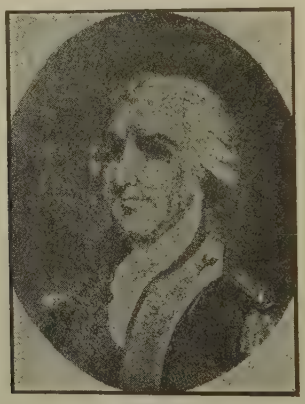
It would seem not only fitting but just that these chiefs and tribes, who were the original occupants and possessors of the soil, should have suitable and enduring monuments to commemorate their names placed in public parks, or on grounds owned and cared for by the State of Ohio, so that our children and our children's children may have kept before them a recollection of a race of men who contended with us for more than two centuries for the possession of the country, but who have been vanquished and almost exterminated by our superior force. That our government is now using its best endeavors to care for, educate and elevate the remnant of the Red race is all to our credit, but this does not lesson the obligation to care for and keep alive the memories of their great men of the past. It will be a discredit to our own civilization to neglect this obvious duty.

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.

FRAZER ELLS WILSON, GREENVILLE, OHIO.

[Author of the valuable little volume, entitled "The Treaty of Greenville," published 1894.—E. O. R.]

Probably the most disastrous defeat ever suffered by the Americans at the hands of the Red Men was that of the army of Gen. Arthur St. Clair on the east branch of the Wabash near the present western boundary of Ohio, November 4th, 1791. Both



GEN. ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

for the number of men killed and the blighting effect on the frontier settlements was this disaster noted and the first report of it cast a pall over the new nation. The tide of white immigration which had begun to flow over the crest of the Alleghenies just at the opening of the Revolution, was greatly augmented after its close when the survivors of that great struggle who had sacrificed their all for liberty turned their faces from the older communities of the East to the promising lands of the West. Considerable settlements were being made in southwestern Pennsylvania, in western Virginia around Wheeling, and the mouth of the Kanawha, and in Kentucky below the Licking river. The settlers built stockades and blockhouses, cleared small tracts of

the dense wilderness for the plow and lived the rude life of the frontiers in constant menace by the hostile Indian tribes, who viewed this steady invasion of their ancient hunting grounds with jealousy and alarm. In 1787 the famous "Ordinance" providing for the organization and government of the "Territory Northwest of the river Ohio" was passed by Congress, and the tide of immigration soon turned in this direction. In 1788 Marietta was founded by a company of New Englanders and became the capital of the territory. In a few years Gallipolis, Manchester, Columbia and Fort Washington (Cincinnati), dotted the northern shore of the Ohio.

Early in 1790 Arthur St. Clair, who had served with distinction in the French and Indian War and the Revolution, was appointed governor of the newly organized territory. Scarcely had he set the wheels of government in motion when reports of Indian attacks along the frontier kept coming in. The tribes along the Wabash and the Maumee (Miami of the Lakes) were especially hostile and were probably assisted and goaded on by the British agents at Detroit and Ft. Miami, who wished to retain their favor and discourage the extension of the American settlements. In order to deal the savages an effective blow, Gen. Harmar of the U. S. Infantry, was instructed to lead an army of about 1200 frontier militia and mounted riflemen against the Maumee villages while Major Hamtramck, the commander at Vincennes, was sent against the Wabash towns with a much smaller force. The latter officer soon succeeded in destroying some of the villages and a quantity of corn without any serious engagement and returned to Vincennes. Harmar's force left Ft. Washington September 30th via Miami Valley and arrived at the Maumee towns, near the present site of Ft. Wayne, Indiana, on the 17th of October, marching about 10 miles per day. By the 21st the chief town, several other villages and probably 20,000 bushels of corn had been destroyed. Two or three attacks were made by detachments sent out at different times, but ended in failure and the army soon returned to Ft. Washington, having lost about 180 men and incited the savages to further resistance. News of the late disaster was soon spread among the Northwestern tribes who now united to make open

war. Little Turtle, chief of the Miamis, a warrior of great intelligence and prowess, who led the attack against Harmar and who had great influence among the western tribes, together with Blue Jacket, the great chief of the Shawnees and Buckongehelas, Chief of the Delawares, formed a confederacy of the northwestern savages to drive the white settlers beyond the Ohio. These chiefs, with the assistance of Girty, McKee and Elliott, the renegades, headed a band of warriors whose discipline has probably never been equalled in Indian warfare. Nothing but a decisive blow by a large and well disciplined force could quell

LITTLE TURTLE.

the uprising being stirred up by these leaders. Accordingly Governor St. Clair was appointed a Major General in the U. S. army, March 4th, 1791, and placed in chief command of the forces to be employed against the Indians. The object of the main expedition planned by the goverment was to establish a post at the Maumee village for the purpose of awing and curbing the Indians in that region, and preventing future hostilities. The troops were to consist of two small regiments of regular infantry, two regiments of levies and 300 or 400 Kentucky militia. "The mounted men were to receive two-thirds of a dollar per day and to be under command of their own officers, while footmen were to receive three dollars per month and be subject to military law. It proved a difficult task to preserve harmony

among the regulars and volunteers, as the latter would scarcely submit either to the discipline of the army, or to the slow movements which one having a road to cut every step he advanced, and forts to build was necessarily subjected to—neither would they labor." While St. Clair was getting ready for the main campaign, the Kentuckians were permitted to send two expeditions of volunteers against the Wabash tribes, with the view of discouraging them from joining the Miami tribes. The first raid was made by Gen. Chas. Scott and was soon followed up by Col. Wilkinson. Both succeeded in destroying corn and property and cowing the Indians, but did little else. An effort was also being made in the meantime to induce the Indians to peace through the intervention of the friendly Senecas. Col. Proctor was sent out from Philadelphia on the 11th of March with instructions to proceed to the Miami villages on the above mission. Proctor was to return to Ft. Washington (Cincinnati, O.) where St. Clair would receive him and be prepared to conciliate the Indians if possible. Negotiations were delayed and the enterprise, it seems, ended in failure.

Preparations for the main expedition were now pushed vigorously but at great disadvantage. Maj. Gen. Richard Butler had been placed second in command with orders to remain in Pennsylvania to recruit and forward troops. Two thousand levies were to be raised, marched to Ft. Pitt (Pittsburgh) in companies as soon as collected, and there receive orders from St. Clair. They could be safely sent in small companies but were held back by Butler to protect the frontiers according to orders from the War Department but much to the annoyance of St. Clair, who kept urging that they be sent to Ft. Washington. A Mr. Samuel Hogdon had been appointed Quartermaster General of the army and, although zealous, seems to have been totally unfit for the responsibilities of the position. The delay in forwarding troops was also partly due to his failure in furnishing horses, supplies, provisions, and the necessary boats for transportation. St. Clair arrived at Ft. Washington on the 15th of May after passing through Lexington to arrange for the forwarding of the Kentucky militia. He found a garrison of

but eighty-five men fit for duty here. The arms and accoutrements left from Harmar's expedition were in a bad condition and the supplies forwarded later by the Quartermaster from time to time were deficient both in quantity and quality. New gun carriages had to be made; the deficiencies of the camp equipage supplied; nearly all of the ammunition had to be made up and a laboratory equipped for this purpose. Musket shells, artillery cartridges, and shells for the Howitzers had to be filled — a tedious and laborious business. Not only ammunition for the campaign but also for the garrison of 1200 or more for the projected post at the Maumee and intermediate posts must be prepared. Workshops and an armory had to be built and tools constructed. In his report the General said—"A great number of axes, camp-kettles, knapsacks, kegs for the musket cartridges, and spare cannon ball, and boxes of ammunition, had to be made; and cordage of various kinds, and the cartridge boxes to be repaired. Splints for the wounded were to be made of half-jacked leather prepared on the spot. In short, almost every art was going forward, and Ft. Washington had as much the appearance of a large manufactory on the inside, as it had of a military post on the outside." To perform all this labor smiths, carpenters, harness-makers, colliers, wheel-wrights, etc., had to be drafted from all that could be found among the troops as they slowly arrived. Considerable cattle and horses for the use of the army had to be cared for and on August 7th, the country near the fort being eaten off, all the troops that had arrived, except the artificers and a small garrison, advanced about six miles northward to Ludlow's station. On the 1st of September the Secretary of War wrote to St. Clair: "The President enjoins you by every principle that is sacred to stimulate your operations in the highest degree, and to move as rapidly as the lateness of the season and the nature of the case will possibly admit." The balance of the troops, however, had not yet arrived at the above date but soon came on and joining those at Ludlow's station, moved on about twenty miles to the Great Miami river where a fort was built to command the river crossing, to serve as a place for depositing provisions, and to form the first link in the chain of forts projected between Ft. Washington and the

Indian villages on the Maumee. St. Clair described this post in the following very interesting manner: "A stockade fifty yards square, with four good bastions, and platforms for cannon in two of them, with barracks for about two hundred men, with some good store houses, etc." * * * "That circuit of that fort is about one thousand feet, through the whole extent of which a trench about three feet deep was dug to set the picquets in, of which it required about two thousand to enclose it; and it is not trees, taken promiscuously, that will answer for picquets, they must be tall and straight and from nine to twelve inches diameter (for those of a larger size are too unmanageable) of course few trees that are proper are to be found without going over a considerable space of woodland. When found they are felled, cleared of their branches, and cut into lengths of about twenty feet. They were then carried to the ground and butted, that they might be placed firm and upright in the trench, with the axe or cross-cut saw; some hewing upon them was also necessary, for there are few trees so straight that the sides of them will come in contact when set upright. A thin piece of timber, called a ribband, is run round the whole near the top of the picquets, to which every one of them is pinned with a strong pin, without which they would decline from the perpendicular with every blast of the wind, some hanging outwards and some inwards, which would render them in a great measure useless. The earth thrown out of the trench is then returned and strongly rammed to keep the picquets firmly in their places, and a shallower trench is dug outside about three feet distant, to carry off the water and prevent their being moved by the rains; about two thousand picquets are set up inside, one between every two of the others; the work is then inclosed. But previously, the ground for the scite of the fort had to be cleared and two or three hundred yards round it, which was very thickly wooded and was a work of time and labour. (The ground where this fort stands, is on the east side of the Miami river, on the first bank; but there is a second bank considerably elevated, within point blank shot, which rendered it necessary to make the picquets, particularly along the land side, of a height sufficient to prevent an enemy seeing

into the area, and taking the river in reverse, and a high platform was raised in one of the bastions on the land side to scour the second bank with artillery. Another made with the trunks of trees, and covered with plank, as that was, was raised in one of the bastions towards the river, in order to command the ford, and the river for some distance up and down. Plank was sawed for the platform and the gate, and barracks for one hundred men; a guardroom, two store houses for provisions, and barracks for the officers were constructed within it and, all this was done in about fourteen days, almost entirely by the labour of the men; though some use was made of oxen in drawing the timber, the woods were so thick and encumbered with underwood, it was found to be the most expeditious method to carry it.") This post was named Ft. Hamilton.

The main part of the army, consisting of two small regiments of regular infantry, and the levies, about two thousand in all, left this place October 4, and were followed on the 5th by about 300 Kentucky militia. St. Clair, in describing the marching order of the troops, observes: "When the army was in march, it was preceded by a small party of riflemen, with the surveyor, to mark the course of the road; for we had no guides, not a single person being found in the country who had ever been through it, and both the geography and the topography were utterly unknown; the march was, therefore, made up on a compass course, conjectural indeed, but which proved to be sufficiently correct, as it brought us into a large path leading to the Miami towns about twenty miles from them; from that party scouts were sent out to scour the country every way; then followed the road cutters with a party to cover them; then the advanced guard, and after them the army in two columns, with one piece of artillery in front, one in the center, and one in the rear of each. In the space between the two columns marched the remaining artillery, destined for the fort at the Miami towns; then the horses with the tents and provisions, and then the cattle with their proper guard, who were to remove them in case of the enemy appearing. Without the columns, at a distance of about one hundred yards, march the cavalry in file, and without them, at the same distance, a party of riflemen, and scouts with-

out them; then followed the rear guard at a proper distance." Roads for the artillery had to be cut through the thick timber nearly all the way and some considerable bridges built. Progress was necessarily slow and by the 13th, the army had advanced but 44 miles from Ft. Hamilton. Finding a suitable place, a halt was made and the work of erecting another post entered into. This fort was about 100 feet square, with four good bastions and was built of logs laid horizontally, the walls forming the outer sides of the soldiers' barracks. It was garrisoned by a small detachment, two pieces of artillery left in it and given the name Fort Jefferson. The plan of encampment here is shown in the illustration below, the artillery and cavalry being in two lines divided upon the flanks and the riflemen at right angles on the sides:

MILITARY POSTS AND ROAD.

While the work was going on at this place, Gen. Butler, who was second in command, proposed to St. Clair that he be allowed to take 1,000 picked men and go to the Maumee villages, and

there establish the projected post, leaving the Commander-in-Chief to finish the fort and follow at his leisure. The season was late, and as St. Clair was advanced in years and very much indisposed at times by attacks of the gout, this was proposed, ostensibly to relieve him and hasten the consummation of the campaign. The General, however, was very disagreeably surprised by the proposition and refused the proffer. Butler seems to have taken offense at the rebuff and grown more reserved in his relations with St. Clair, although the latter thought that his own action was a proper and due exercise of his power as head of the army.

On the 24th of October the troops marched about six miles, still following the same Indian trail, and camped on the present site of Greenville, Ohio, a creek being in front and a large prairie on the left which afforded excellent forage for the jaded horses. Here the army halted a week awaiting provisions and sending out spies to ascertain the whereabouts of the Indians. On the 30th the march was continued seven miles, the direction changing to 25 degrees west of north. On the 31st sixty of the Kentucky militia deserted, threatening to plunder the second convoy of provisions which was then thought to be within twenty miles on the trail. In order to save the supplies which were necessary for the sustenance of the army, and to prevent further desertions, the whole of the first regiment of regulars was detached, and sent back. The quartermaster had failed to start the convoy at the appointed time, however, and this regiment was separated from the main body by a greater distance than anticipated, thus reducing the effective fighting force to about 1,400 men. On November 1 the army halted to allow the road-cutters to get some distance ahead. A few Indians had been observed hanging about the flanks of the army and on the 3d a larger number than usual were noticed. After a hard march through the cold on short rations the army arrived about sunset on that day at a small stream flowing southward, which was supposed to be the St. Mary's, a branch of the Maumee, but was in fact a branch of the east fork of the Wabash. Here an encampment was made in two lines on a slightly elevated piece of ground with the creek in front and on the right and a ravine on the left. The

first line was composed of Butler, Clarke and Paterson's battalion of levies, and commanded by Gen. Butler. The second consisted of Bedinger and Gaither's battalions and the second regiment of regulars commanded by Lieut. Col. Darke and was about 200 feet to the rear of and parallel with the first. The right flank was protected by the creek; the left by a steep bank, Faulkner's corps and some of the infantry. The militia advanced about a fourth of a mile across the creek bottom and camped on high ground. It had been a hard day's march and was near 8 o'clock before the scanty mess was cooked. The soldiers, tired and worn, were soon sleeping heavily. Capt. Slough of the 1st battalion of levies was sent out with a small number of picked men with instructions to advance one, two or three miles along the trail in search for Indians. About midnight they returned, with the report that they had fired on a party of six or seven savages, killing one, and had been passed by a much larger party later going towards the camp. The report, according to Capt. Slough's testimony, was made to Maj. Gen. Butler, who then dismissed him for the night without instructions to inform St. Clair. Col. Oldham of the militia also predicted an attack in the morning. Gen. St. Clair had observed on the afternoon previous that he did not expect an attack yet and in the evening concerted plans with Major Ferguson of the artillery for throwing up a small earthwork, wherein to have deposited the knapsacks and heavy luggage. He then intended to make a forced march to the Maumee village, which he thought to be about 15 miles, but which was in fact very much farther, as soon as the first regiment came up. He was permitted to do neither, for on the 4th before sunrise just after the regular morning parade an attack was made on the pickets of the militia across the creek. A few shots were exchanged, but fear seized the Kentuckians, and they rushed pell mell into camp, pursued by a large party of Indians, whooping and yelling fiercely. A volley from the artillery in the front rank drove them back to cover but they soon renewed their fire and gradually encircled the encampment, concealing themselves behind trees, brush and fallen logs and pouring in a galling fire. The soldiers were cramped for room and exposed because of the nature of the ground on

which they were encamped and made an easy target for the savages who were expert marksmen. The main fire was directed against the men at the guns in the center of the encampment and they were driven away again and again with great slaughter. This was kept up perhaps an hour and a half until nearly every officer of the artillery had been killed or wounded and all the guns silenced. The roar of the artillery and rattle of the muskets of the regulars may have tended to awe the savages, but much ammunition was wasted by the random shooting of the untrained troops. Men were falling in great numbers in all parts of the camp, confusion was spreading, and the Indians, becoming emboldened, swarmed forward to seize the guns. Previously they had flitted from cover to cover under the pall of smoke but now they became more exposed at close quarters. A spirited charge was made against them under Col. Darke and they were driven back across the creek at the point of the bayonet. For want of a sufficient number of riflemen to follow up this charge, they were forced to return and were gradually followed by the Indians, who pressed forward from tree to tree and soon came into camp on the left flank. Here they were met by a spirited charge from the second regiment, Butler's and Clarke's battalions, and pushed back. Again and again was this repeated but with great loss, especially of the officers who had to expose themselves to rally the raw and undisciplined troops. In these charges Major Butler was dangerously wounded and all the officers of the second regiment fell except three. Both St. Clair and Butler exhibited great bravery throughout, the former having had two or three of his horses killed and several bullet holes shot through his clothes; the latter having been mortally wounded, continued to give orders while propped up in the center of the camp. The fire was continued nearly three hours until the majority of the officers and half of the army were either killed or wounded. The soldiers crowded to the center of the camp, being pressed gradually closer from all sides by the exulting savages. The remnant of the army became stupefied and bewildered and it became necessary to order a retreat. Accordingly Col. Darke was ordered to make a charge and with a number of the best men made a feint driving the Indians beyond the road and making an opening through which the balance of the troops

hurried pell mell with the militia in front. The Indians had been thrown into confusion by the charge, but, discovering its object, soon pursued the struggling army along the trail and harassed the rear for three or four miles. Attracted by the rich booty, however, they soon returned to plunder the camp and kill or torture those of the wounded who had been left on the field. Here a sickening sight presented itself. Huddled in a comparatively small space were piles of the slain on the frozen ground,

ST. CLAIR'S BATTLE GROUND.

the silent cannon, the deserted tents and valuable camp equipments all abandoned in the flight for life. While the Indians were securing their plunder and gloating over their victims, the routed army continued its retreat and kept throwing away arms and equipments in the panic of fear. Nearly all the horses had been taken or killed and St. Clair, mounted on a slow pack-horse, was unable to reach the front himself and the other officers found it impossible to establish order and check the flight. The rout continued along the road to Fort Jefferson, a distance of about 30 miles, where the men arrived just after sunset. Here the first regiment, which had been sent back to intercept the deserters, was met, but in view of the broken condition of the troops,

the lack of provisions in the fort and the strength of the enemy, it was decided to continue the march toward Fort Washington on the next morning with the prospect of meeting a convoy on the way.

The number of Indians in this engagement has been variously estimated at from 700 to 2,500 or 3,000, but 1,000 or 1,500 is considered a conservative figure, and the amount of government property either lost or destroyed is put at more than $34,000. Little Turtle, chief or the Miamis, was their leader and their loss was estimated at about 150 killed and several wounded, but because of their custom of carrying away or concealing the slain it is difficult to ascertain the number of their slain. The Americans had thirty-nine officers killed, and twenty-two wounded, and their entire loss was estimated at 677 killed, including 30 women, and 271 wounded. Among the prominent officers killed were Gen. Richard Butler, Maj. Ferguson of the artillery, Col. Oldham of the militia, Maj. Clarke and Maj. Heart; and among the wounded were Col. Sargent (the Adj. Gen.), Lieut. Col. Gibson, Major Thos. Butler, and the Viscount Malartie, aide de camp to St. Clair.

The new government was experimenting in Indian warfare and had much to learn. Washington had been present at Braddock's defeat and had warned St. Clair before departing. The latter sent his aide, Major Denny, with the news of his defeat to the President at Philadelphia. On account of the ice in the Ohio River and the bad condition of roads it took twenty days to reach Wheeling and ten more to reach the capital. President Washington received the dispatch while eating dinner, but continued his meal and acted as usual until all the company had gone and his wife had left the room, leaving no one but himself and Secretary, Col. Lear. He now commenced to walk back and forth in silence and after some moments sat down on a sofa. His manner now showed emotion and he exclaimed suddenly: "St. Clair's defeated—routed; the officers nearly all killed, the men by wholesale, the rout complete! too shocking to think of—a surprise in the bargain." Pausing again, rising from the sofa, and walking back and forth, he stopped short and again broke out with great vehemence: "Yes! here on this very spot I took leave of him; I wished him success and honor. 'You have your in-

structions,' I said, 'from the Secretary of War; I had a strict eye to them, and will add but one word, beware of a surprise! you know how the Indians fight us! He went off with that as my last solemn warning thrown into his ears. And yet, to suffer that army to be cut to pieces—hacked by a surprise, the very thing I guarded against! . . .' The President again sat down on the sofa and his anger subsided. At length he said: "This must not go beyond this room." After a while he again spoke in a lower tone: "General St. Clair shall have justice. I looked hastily through the dispatches—saw the whole disaster, but not all the particulars. I will hear him without prejudice, he shall have full justice." A committee of the House of Representatives investigated the cause of St. Clair's defeat and acquitted him with honor. He afterwards served as the first Governor of Ohio and died at Greensburg, Pa., in 1818, at an advanced age and in comparative poverty, having seen the final overthrow of the hostile tribes and the permanent founding of civilization in this matchless region of the old Northwest.

FT. RECOVERY.

OHIO'S BIRTH STRUGGLE.

BY WM. T. M'CLINTOCK, CHILLICOTHE, O.

[The story of the controversy between General Arthur St. Clair, the Governor of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, and the young Jeffersonian Republicans of that Territory, in 1799-1803, which resulted in the birth of a new state to the Federal Union.]

There is no part of the history of the U. S. Territory northwest of the Ohio River more interesting than the story of the controversy between its Governor, General Arthur St. Clair and his friends, and that group of able, ambitious, enthusiastic and untiring young men who crossed the Ohio River as emigrants in the last five years of the eighteenth century, and who found, or fancied they found, their interests opposed and thwarted by the Governor and his supporters. The story has all the excitement of a drama. The plot moves on step by step; the scenes shift; the actors' parts are distinct and picturesque and the interest of the spectator constantly increases until he beholds the creation of a new State and the addition of the seventeenth star to the flag of the Union.

The part of the Governor has been repeatedly told, and in such manner as to excite public sympathy and induce a ready assent to the account of the supposed wrongs and injustices which he suffered at the hands of his opponents, and which culminated in his downfall and removal from office in the winter of 1802-1803.

The biographers of St. Clair have set forth these wrongs and the public has given their statement of them a ready acceptance. As late as the year 1897, a writer in "The Nation," one of the ablest and best known newspapers of our country, has assumed and boldly stated that his opponents were prompted principally by motives of self-interest and personal ambition, while the Governor was actuated only by the motives of the most patriotic character.

On the other hand, the parts of his opponents in that to him, disastrous struggle, have only been partly and imperfectly set forth. The sources of knowledge respecting them are limited, and it is now difficult to find the material for a fair representation of what actually occurred.

The result has been that a cloud of reproach more or less thick and gloomy, has been allowed to cast its shadow upon the character of those who ventured to oppose the man they regarded as having outlived his usefulness and to whom they did not hesitate to apply the name of "tyrant."

The friends of St. Clair, including the late writer in "The Nation," to whom reference has been made, claim that the government of the Territory under the Ordinance of 787, bore heavily on no interests except on those of speculators in lands, and that there was no tyranny or oppression of which any one had just cause for complaint.

It cannot be denied, however, on a full and impartial review of the events of that time, that both parties had personal interests to subserve; the one, in the preservation of the rights and emoluments incident to official position, and the other in the profit to be derived from the survey and location of lands for themselves, or others, within the territorial limits, as provided with the compact with the State of Virginia and the laws of the United States. In many instances, notably in the case of Worthington and Tiffin, and other emigrants from Virginia and Kentucky, the motive of pecuniary advantage was supplemented by a large hearted desire to give freedom to their slaves, which could be done only by bringing them into a territory where slavery was forbidden by law.

So far is it from being true that the Territorial Government bore heavily on no interests except those of speculators in lands, it may be said, on the contrary, that the seeds of dissension and controversy were implanted in that very "Ordinance of 1787" to which we justly give so much credit as a remarkable embodiment of wisdom and foresight, under which Ohio and the other states afterward created within the bounds of the old Northwest Territory, have made such rapid and wonderful growth.

This feature may indeed be considered as adding force to the eulogy that this Ordinance approached as nearly to perfection as anything in the history of legislation the world over.

It is certain that the form of government, like "the swaddling bands of infancy" was not "friendly to liberty." It was arbitrary and *Colonial* in the extreme. The native tribes of Indians were not only to be governed without their consent, but were to be whipped into subjection. The people of the states emigrating to the Territory had no voice or concern in its business. All power, legislative, judicial and executive, was vested in a Governor, a Secretary, and three Judges, all of Federal appointment, and responsible only to a distant Federal head.

The Governor had the sole power to appoint magistrates and other civil officers throughout the Territory, and to lay out counties and townships, a matter of much interest to the people, and emphatically legislative in character. He claimed also from this, by implication, the power to fix the location of county seats and to change them at pleasure, without any right of interference on the part of the local Judges or magistrates, or of the people. He, and the Judges of Federal appointment, determined what laws should be adopted, how they should be construed and how executed. and from their decision there was no appeal to the people.

Provision was made for the compensation of these officers by the Federal Government, but the general expenses of the Territorial government were met by assessments upon the several counties, or by fees, exacted from the people and payable to every officer concerned in the administration of justice, from the Judges of the General Court down to the humblest Justice of the Peace.

It is seen that such a government was paternal in the last degree, and was at all times, even in the hands of the best of men, liable to abuse, because of the limitations upon human intelligence and the imperfections of human reason.

Upon the authority of Mr. Nathan Dane who was a member of the special committee in the Congress of the Confederation which framed the Ordinance, it was thus "made unfriendly to liberty" in order to induce the early formation of states to become a part of the Federal Union.

The Government worked well from the time of its organization in 1788 down to and after Wayne's Treaty with the Indians at Greenville, in 1795. Up to that time there were only a few settlements of whites, at Marietta, Cincinnati, Vincennes and Detroit, and the chief business of the Government was to protect these from hostile attacks of the Indians, and reduce the latter to a state of subjugation; but after the making of that treaty, the flood of emigration rapidly increased and many new settlements were made, so that by 1798, eight counties had been organized, and by a census then taken, it was ascertained that there were 5,000 free male inhabitants of full age, within the Territory.

It was provided by the "Ordinance" that on proof of this fact to the Governor, these 5,000 free male inhabitants were to receive authority, with time and place named, to elect representatives from their counties or townships to represent them in a General Assembly.

These representatives were elected during the fall of 1798 and the Governor designated Cincinnati, February 4th, 1799, as the place and time for their meeting.

Their only duty at this first meeting was to nominate ten freeholders, from whom the President of the United States was to select five, as a Legislative Council, with a five years term of service. (The term of the Assembly men being two years only.) This first duty performed, the Assembly adjourned to meet again at the same place on September 16, 1799.

From the freeholders so nominated, the President of the United States, the elder Adams, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed five, as the Legislative Council, and these two bodies, the Legislative Council, and the General Assembly, with the Governor, constituted the Legislature, with authority to make laws not inconsistent with the Ordinance of 1787, or the Federal Constitution.

This opened the *second* stage in the progress of the Territory provided by the original Ordinance. It is probable that the importance of the change was not fully appreciated by the Governor, or the people. The latter gained the right of placing men of their own choice in the new Assembly, and through them to elect a representative in Congress, and the Judges of the Territory

were limited to the exercise of judicial functions. On the other hand, the Governor retained his general executive authority and his full appointing power to minor offices, and gained the new right to convene and prorogue or dissolve the General Assembly at pleasure, with an absolute veto upon any and all legislative acts. None were of any force without his formal assent. His power was more absolute than before, being altogether independent of the people and subject to no control except that of public opinion, which operates indirectly and is often unseen, or unheeded.

It has been thought singular that the free male inhabitants of the Territory, of voting age, should desire such a change in their form of government, especially as the influx of population was largely from Virginia and Kentucky, the two states in which Democratic Republican ideas had taken deepest root. It was, however, one of the steps which the ordinance had provided for, and we are forced to the conclusion that the framers of that instrument purposely tightened the chains of the Territorial Government in order to induce the speedy introduction of new states into the Federal Union.

Up to this time the Northwest Territory was strongly favorable to the National Administration, both under Washington and the elder Adams. St. Clair's appointment to office in 1788, was for three years only. He was reappointed in 1791-1794 and 1798 without a breath of opposition.

Winthrop Sargent had been appointed Secretary of the Territory contemporaneously with the Governor in 1788. In 1789 Congress gave the Secretary power to exercise the functions of Governor, in the absence of the latter. This led to occasional fault-finding, but St. Clair and Sargent had managed to maintain a strong personal friendship and in the main had been faithful to each other.

In the summer (July or August) of 1798, Sargent resigned the office of Secretary, in order to become Governor of the Mississippi Territory, to which he had been appointed by President Adams. He was succeeded by Captain William Henry Harrison, a young man, only twenty-five years of age, who had already acquired distinction as an officer in the U. S. Army, on the staff of General Wayne in the Indian campaign of 1794-5. His sub-

sequent career, including his election as President of the United States in 1840, was only the fulfillment of the prophecy of his youth.

St. Clair's biographer and eulogist, William Henry Smith, says, "There were no ties of sympathy between the Governor and the new Secretary. They belonged to opposite schools. The one was growing gray and was accustomed to deference from others. * * * The other, young and ambitious, was ready to sympathize with any movement that had for its object the changing of the old for a new order of things. Hence it soon came to pass that the Secretary formed plans about which he did not consult the Governor."

In the meantime, local causes, arising out of the rapid settlement of the Territory, began to operate against the Governor in the exercise of his claim to absolute authority. The owners of land, the founders of towns, and the people in the several counties, desired to fix or change the county seats to suit their own views and convenience. The Governor claimed this power as belonging only to himself, and in the summer of 1798 he asserted this claim in the case of Adams county, in opposition to the wishes and interests of Col. Massie and of the people in that county.

The Assembly having adjourned at its first meeting in February, 1799, to meet again on September 16th of that year, in order to allow, in the meantime, of the selection and appointment of the Legislative Council, again met in Cincinnati, but it was not until September 24th that a quorum was obtained, and the two houses, the Council and Assemblymen, were organized and ready for business.

These two houses did not, however, constitute the Legislature, for the Ordinance provided that it should "consist of the *Governor,* legislative council and house of representatives." The Governor was a sort of Third House, a veritable autocrat, with power to convene, prorogue and dissolve the other branches of the Legislature at pleasure, and to veto absolutely any bills which they might adopt.

On the second day of the meeting of the Council and Assemblymen, the Governor addressed them, expressing, among other things, his conviction that the system of government which had just been superceded was "full of wisdom and benignity," yet congratulating the people and their representatives on their being withdrawn from under a law making power in which they had no voice, and that now the laws to direct their conduct and protect their property were to be made by their own representatives.

The hidden sarcasm of this congratulation was not developed until later in the session.

In the main, the recommendations of the address rose to the importance of the occasion. It was cordially responded to, and the business of the Session proceeded in apparent harmony and without regard to any political divisions.

In that valuable contribution to the history of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, known as "Burnet's Notes," the author says of this first Territorial Legislature, that "the people in almost every instance selected their strongest and best men."

Of the twenty-one members in the House, the greater part were Federalists and friends and supporters of St. Clair, as were also *all* the members of the Council. He names McMillan, Sibley, Meigs and Fearing as lawyers of distinction and ability, and gives especial credit to Darlington, Massie, Worthington, Tiffin, Samuel Findley, Langham, Benham, Edgar, and Smith.

We have not been able to ascertain with certainty, the names of all those who were Democratic Republicans, but it may be stated that Goforth and Smith, of Hamilton County, Darlington and Massie, of Adams, Worthington, Tiffin, Findley and Langham of Ross, and Pritchard of Jefferson, were followers of Mr. Jefferson.

At that time, however, there was little attention paid within the Territory to National politics. The *states* were greatly agitated by party strife, but the people of the *Territory,* having no voice in electing the officers of the general government, and there being but little patronage to distribute among them, were not so much interested in National affairs.

Governor St. Clair up to this time had retained the respect and confidence of the people, but his popularity began to wane during the first session of the Legislature in 1799. During this session and in anticipation of it, in 1798, he manifested, according to the admissions of his own friends, a strong desire to enlarge his own powers, and to restrict those of the Assembly. His forced construction of some of the provisions of the Territorial Ordinance have already been alluded to, by which he claimed the exclusive right to create new counties and townships by the division and alteration of existing counties, although his power in that respect was limited to the district in which the Indian title had been extinguished, as to which he had exhausted his authority prior to the meeting of the Legislature, and although the power to make such alterations was expressly committed to the Legislature by the provisions of the Ordinance itself.

The Legislative Council and the House of Representatives in the course of the Session passed thirty odd bills. Of these he returned nineteen, from time to time, with his approval, but he held the remainder without expressing approval or disapproval, and when the two houses requested him to return such bills as he could not approve, before the close of the session, with his objections, so that they might make an effort to remove the objections by amendments, he refused to do so, but retained them in his hands until the end of the Session, when he sent a communication to the Assembly remonstrating in offensive language against their proceedings as an usurpation of power, and intimating in strong terms a want of confidence in the judgment and discretion of the Assembly. Some of these bills, in the judgment of his own friends, were supposed to be of much importance and all of them calculated to advance the public interest. Some he rejected because they related to the establishment of new counties; others, because he thought them unnecessary or inexpedient. The result was that a third of the fruit of the entire session was lost by the exercise of the arbitrary power of a single man.

In order to make this power more sensibly felt, he proceeded immediately to create and organize new counties, out of old ones, on a plan different from that adopted by the Assembly, and to establish them by proclamations, without consulting the Legislature.

At the close of the Session, a complimentary address to President John Adams was adopted, having so little of party spirit in it that only five members voted against it. Mr. William Henry Smith, in his "St. Clair Papers" alludes to this vote as "the *leaven* that changed the politics of the Territory and in due season sent the Governor back to the hills of Pennsylvania."

In view of all the facts, it would seem to be the better opinion that this dissenting vote was given because of personal bias, and had little political significance. The true leaven was the arbitrary use of the Governor's veto, the assertion of exclusive power in himself for the erection of new counties and the location of county seats, and in the offensive language used by him in his public message to the Assembly.

The action of the Governor provoked the adoption of a remonstrance, addressed to Congress, against the unqualified veto given to the Governor, and against the exclusive right claimed by him of dividing and subdividing counties, not only in their first creation as provided by the Ordinance, but continuously afterward.

An important duty of the Session was to elect a delegate to represent the Territory in Congress. This seems to have been the only function of the Legislature which did not require the assent of the Governor, for it was provided that the Council and House, assembled in one room, should exercise this authority.

The history of the period shows that if Jacob Burnet, a young but distinguished lawyer residing in Cincinnati, and a member of the Legislative Council, would have accepted the office, he would have been elected without opposition, although a strong Federalist in his politics. On his refusal to be a candidate, public opinion had settled upon two candidates, one of them being the new Secretary, Captain Harrison, the other, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., the son of the Governor, and by the latter's appointment, the Attorney General of the Territory. Harrison, on October 3, 1799, was elected by a majority of one vote, and at once resigned his office as Secretary, proceeded to Philadelphia, where Congress was then in session and took his seat in that body. He retained that office but a single session, but in that time secured much legislation of great advantage to his constituents. His position as delegate en-

abled him to discover the trend of events toward the overthrow of the Federal party and the triumph of Mr. Jefferson and his fellow Republicans.

The Session of the Territorial Legislature was prorogued by the Governor on December 19th, 1799, to meet again on the first Monday of November, 1800.

The struggle for supremacy between the Federalists in the Territory and their Republican opponents now became very much in earnest. Foremost, on the Federal side, stood their leader, Governor St. Clair, described by his biographer as a man of ripe experience and thorough education. Prior to the War of the Revolution, he had been an officer in the British army, under General Wolf; then a trusted agent of the Proprietors of the Province of Pennsylvania, and a magistrate over an extensive district, after it became a State. During the Revolutionary War he was a Major General, a friend and associate of Lafayette, and honored also by the friendship of Washington. He served as the President of the Continental Congress. In private life he was a favorite in the drawing room, brilliant in conversation, handsome in form and dignified in bearing, a leader by nature, calculated to win the hearts of all. This was, however, when he was in his prime. But at the time of which we are now speaking, his long journeys from one part of the old Northwest Territory to another, during which he often slept on the ground or in open boats, and lived on coarse, irregular and uncertain fare, made up a series of hardships which had severely wrenched his constitution and brought on attacks of gout, which constantly became more frequent and aggravated. What wonder that his campaign against the Indians in 1791 resulted in disaster? After this, in the winter of 1794-5, a malignant fever brought him almost to the very door of death. The exigencies of his office required perpetual personal attention. The burden was too great for his years. What wonder that such a man, of a stiff and uncompromising disposition, brought up in the habit of military command, accustomed to have his own way and to be implicitly obeyed, now finding himself beset and puzzled by the activities, ambition and energy of a group of young men, mere boys to him, should become impatient, it may be

arrogant, and should seek by all means at his command to thwart their efforts and to retain for himself and his friends the places of power so long held without dispute or opposition.

It must be remembered, however, that the Governor's mental strength had not diminished in proportion to his physical disablement. He was but sixty-five years of age, and had lost none of his strength of will and obstinacy of purpose. His supporters were chiefly men of mature years, such as Cutler and Putnam, of Marietta; McMillan of Cincinnati, Sibley of Detroit, and others of like calibre and experience in public affairs. Some young men were also of his party, notably Jacob Burnet of Cincinnati, and Charles Hammond of Wheeling, Va., recently admitted to the practice of law within the Territory, subsequently reaching great elevation in his profession and in politics, and identified with much of the history of Ohio and its legislation.

On the side of the young Republicans, the acknowledged chiefs were Nathaniel Massie, Thomas Worthington and Edward Tiffin. Judge Burnet speaks of them "as qualified to exert an influence in any deliberative assembly."

Massie, a native of Virginia, was among the earliest and most enterprising adventurers into the Territory, and shared largely in the dangers and privations attending its first settlement. He occupied a high place in the estimation of the people. He was a surveyor and locator of Virginia Military Land Warrants in the District between the Scioto and Little Miami Rivers, reserved in the deed of session from Virginia for the compensation of her officers and soldiers on the continental establishment, during the Revolutionary War. In this business he made acquaintances and friends both within and without the Territory, which his talents and acquirements, and his polished and agreeable manners, enabled him to retain to the end of his life. He was now about 36 years of age.

Worthington, like Massie, was the descendant of an old Virginia family, tracing its lineage to an ancient and honorable family of England, established at their manor in Lancashire from the days of Henry the Second, some of whose descendants at a later period found a home in Virginia. His father was an ardent supporter of the war of the rebellion of the Colonies against the

Mother Country and died in that service. Thomas was his youngest child, born July 16, 1773. At the age of fourteen, Major General William Darke, a distinguished soldier of the Revolution and a prominent politician, became his guardian. General Darke, as an officer of the Revolution, had a large holding of Virginia Military Land Warrants. He was now an old man. His only son had been killed at St. Clair's defeat by the Indians in 1791. He now asked his former ward to join a party of young Virginians, chiefly sons of Revolutionary officers, who were about to locate warrants for their fathers beyond the Ohio River, and to do a like service for him.

This party, in the spring of 1796, reached the then hamlet of Chillicothe, which had been laid out in April of that year by Massie, and was as yet only a collection of log huts.

Worthington having located the warrants of General Darke, returned to Virginia, and was married in December, 1796, to Miss Eleanor Sweringen. These two young people, occupying a high social position and both possessing considerable wealth, a large portion of which consisted of negro slaves, determined to free these slaves. This was after the passage of the law of Virginia which made it obligatory to remove emancipated slaves from the state. They therefore determined to give them a home in the settlement of the new Territory. Mr. Worthington had purchased from General Darke the lands which he had located near Chillicothe, and in company with his friend and brother-in-law, Dr. Edward Tiffin, left Virginia on May 1, 1797, reaching Chillicothe on the 17th of that month. During this visit, he and Dr. Tiffin, although they had come only to seek homes for their emancipated slaves, became so enamored of Chillicothe and the lands in its vicinity that they determined to remove their families from Virginia, and make the Territory their own abiding home.

Accordingly, in the latter days of March, 1798, the party set forth from Shepherdstown, Va. It consisted of Thomas Worthington, his wife and infant daughter; his brother, Robert, and his family, Mrs. Worthington's young brothers, Thomas and Samuel Van Sweringen; Dr. Tiffin, his wife, his parents, two sisters, two brothers, a few skilled mechanics, and a small army of emancipated slaves. They reached Chillicothe April 17, 1798.

The next year both Thomas Worthington and Edward Tiffin were elected to the Territorial Legislature, which met in Cincinnati.

Edward Tiffin was born in Carlisle, England, June 19, 1766, and came with his parents to America in 1784. In 1789 he married the sister of Thomas Worthington. Both he and his wife were devoutly religious, being members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and he, one of the licensed preachers of that body. It is said the determination of Mr. and Mrs. Worthington to free their slaves was largely influenced by the opinions of Dr. and Mrs. Tiffin, who felt, in conscience, bound to free those they themselves owned and to give them a home in the free territory of the Northwest. Dr. Tiffin, after reaching Chillicothe, as a physician, and as a preacher in the Methodist Church, soon rose to a high position in the esteem of all who knew him. His talents and acquirements readily indicated his fitness for the speakership of the assembly, to which he was elected on the organization of that body in September, 1799.

These three, Massie, Worthington and Tiffin, were the acknowledged leaders of the Republican or Virginia party. Others were scarcely less distinguished and able.

It has been already noted that the office of Secretary of the Territory became vacant on the election of Captain William H. Harrison as delegate in Congress, on October 3d, 1799. The vacancy was not filled until December 30th of that year, when Charles Willing Byrd, credited to Virginia, but in reality a resident of Kentucky, since 1794, was appointed to that office. He took the oath of office before Governor St. Clair on February 26th, 1800, at Cincinnati, to which place he had removed at about that time from the State of Kentucky. He was not yet thirty years of age. On completing his education, and before reaching his majority, he studied law and was admitted to the bar, and a few years afterward emigrated to Kentucky, as the agent of Mr. Robert Morris (who owned a large body of land in that State), where he acquired celebrity as a lawyer and ranked high for ability and probity. The distinction of his Virginia ancestry, the influence of his wealthy relatives and friends in Philadelphia, which was then the seat of the Federal Government, united to his own merit and reputation, secured his appointment to succeed Captain Har-

rison. His identification with the Republican party was manifest from the first. He was a brother-in-law of Col. Nathaniel Massie. His personal interests and associations, as well as his political opinions, naturally inclined him to a decided opposition to the Governor's opinions and policy. It will be remembered that in the absence of the Governor from the State, which often happened, the Secretary became the acting Governor. Mr. Byrd did not hesitate to use this *ad interim* authority, to further the interests of his friends and party. This fact and his recognized vigor of intellect and legal learning gave him prominence as one of the leaders of the opposition to the Governor, and made him another actor in that exciting territorial drama.

About this time (1799) Col. Massie received a letter from a friend in Philadelphia, introducing a young man from the State of Connecticut who had it in contemplation to establish himself in the Territory N. W. of the Ohio, should he meet with due encouragement. This was Michael Baldwin. He had finished a liberal course of education and obtained a license to practice law in Connecticut, and was recommended to the notice and friendly attention of Col. Massie, as a young man of "talents, good morals and good disposition." His four or five brothers occupied distinguished positions as Representatives or Senators in Congress, Judges of the higher courts, or as men of wealth and prominence in as many different states. He at once joined the young Virginians and soon compelled recognition by his energy, learning and sparkling intellectual gifts. It is said he soon distanced all his competitors at the bar, and for several years had a large practice. In the early part of the State's history he filled several responsible offices, and had it not been for his too intimate friendship with old John Barleycorn, he might have vied with his distinguished brothers in the attainment of fortune, fame and high office, instead of finding an early and now unknown grave in the little old cemetery once existing near the intersection of Riverside and Bridge streets, in Chillicothe, all vestige of which has long since been effaced.

The one person, in Chillicothe, who kept up with Baldwin in the legal profession, was William Creighton, Jr., also a college graduate, who had studied law and removed from Berkley County,

Va., to Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1797, or early in 1798, before he had completed his twentieth year. He too belonged to the young Democracy, and afterward became the first Secretary of State for the new state of Ohio, and later a distinguished member of Congress, and a Judge of the U. S. District Court.

Another of the group was Jeremiah Morrow. He was born near Gettysburgh, Pa., in October, 1771, and emigrated from that State to what is now Warren County, Ohio, in 1796. He taught school for a while, was a competent surveyor, and soon acquired the respect of his fellow pioneers. He was a member of the Territorial Legislature, also of the Constitutional Convention of 1802; and of Ohio's first General Assembly. He was the first, and for ten years the sole representative of the State in the lower house of Congress; six years a member of the U. S. Senate, served two terms as Governor of Ohio, and in his old age, at the earnest solicitation of his friends, served them again in Congress and the Legislature. He was a steady and unflinching supporter of the party in opposition to St. Clair.

Add to these the name of Return J. Meigs, Jr., of Washington County, and we have about completed the list of that extraordinary group of young men who had come west to establish homes and fortunes, and to carve out careers which should reflect honor upon themselves and their posterity.

These, and others like them, were the chief actors in that grand conflict, to whom were added a multitude of humbler people unknown to fame, but gifted with voices and votes, and whose separate thoughts in the aggregate, made up that great force called "public opinion." Many of them, both among leaders and people, were devoutly religious. Tiffin and Worthington were Methodists, Morrow and others were Scotch Presbyterians.

As soon as the Governor threw down "the gage of battle" it was promptly taken up, and the struggle began.

The Governor forsaw the plans of his opponents, and influenced in part by personal hostility to some of the more prominent members of the opposition, particularly Col. Massie, Secretary Byrd, Judge Symmes and his son-in-law, Harrison, also by the natural desire to defend himself against attacks which he regarded as persecution, but chiefly because of his zeal to uphold

and continue in power the political party in National politics to which he belonged, determined at once on measures to defeat them.

The fifth "article of compact" in the ordinance of 1787, had provided for the formation of not less than three nor more than five states within the Territory, and fixed the boundaries for three of such prospective states, the most easterly of which had for its boundary a direct line due north from the mouth of the Great Miami River to the northern boundary of the Territory. When either of these divisions should have a population of 60,000 free inhabitants, it was entitled to admission into the Federal Union, on an equality with the original states, and at liberty to form a permanent constitution and state government, republican in form and in accord with the principles of the Ordinance. There was, however, a further provision that such admission might be allowed, although there might be less than 60,000 free inhabitants within the limits of the proposed state, but this, only "so far as it might be consistent with the general interest of the Confederacy."

Here was a chance for the creation of a new state, and the leaders of the two great National parties, Federalist and Republican, soon appreciated the importance of this fact. If it could be made of Federalist material, it would strengthen that party, but the contrary if of Republican timber.

As parties in the States then stood, it was not likely that a new state northwest of the Ohio River could be formed so as to add strength to the Federal party. It was therefore obviously the policy of the Governor and his Federal friends to postpone the creation of a new state as long as possible. Accordingly, he at first in a letter to the Secretary of State at Washington, Mr. Pickering, advised a division, with the Scioto River as the line of separation. This he thought would make the upper or eastern division surely Federal, and that the opposing local interests of those whom he regarded as unfriendly to the General Government, in the western division, would so balance each other that they would not be able to unite in any scheme adverse to Federal strength. But on reflection, he thought the eastern division so proposed too thinly inhabited and that the design he had

in view would be too evident. He therefore immediately on the adjournment of the Legislature in December, 1799, wrote to his Federal friend, Mr. Ross, of the U. S. Senate, suggesting a division by a line due north from the mouth of Eagle Creek, a point on the Ohio River in which is now Brown county, a short distance above where Ripley, Ohio, now stands. Such a division he thought would keep what he called the "multitude of indigent and ignorant people" of the Territory, who were "without fixed political principles," in "a colonial state for a good many years to come." He represented the leaders of the opposition as holding sentiments opposed to the general government and likely to favor a state government "democratic in form, but oligarchic in execution, and more troublesome and more opposed to the measures of the United States than even Kentucky." He wrote that he was persuaded Col. Worthington's business in Philadelphia at that time, Congress being then and there in session, was to press the passage of a bill for a division on a line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami, which would please the people of Ross county by giving consequence to Chillicothe, but that their leaders had other views, looking to the formation of a new state, the expected power of which would come into their hands as Democrats, and enable them to mould the state as they pleased, which in his judgment would be as unfriendly to the United States as possible. In the same letter he speaks of Worthington as wanting in candor and as a very designing man; shows his hostility to Judge Symmes and delegate Harrison, in unmistakable terms, and recommends his trusted supporter, McMillan, for a Judgeship.

He follows this with a letter in February, 1800, to delegate Harrison; and as his (Harrison's) interests and those of Judge Symmes were identified with Cincinnati, he endeavors to convince him that any division of the Territory into only *two* parts, would ruin that city. He therefore recommends a tripartite division, opposing the Great Miami line, as making the eastern division too large and recommending the Scioto as the west boundary of that division; a line due north from the mouth of the Kentucky River, as the west boundary of the middle division, and all the country west of that, to the Mississippi, to constitute

the third, with Marietta, Cincinnati and Vincennes as the respective seats of government.

In the meantime, the Governor's opponents were not idle. In that same month of December, 1799, their dissatisfaction with the Governor's reasons for vetoing eleven out of the thirty odd bills which had been passed by the Council and House of Representatives, knew no bounds. They conceived the plan of procuring a division of the Territory into two districts at the then session of Congress in Philadelphia, with the expectation that the next meeting of the Legislature for the Eastern Division would be in Chillicothe. They sent Col. Worthington to Philadelphia, and to carry out this plan was, as the Governor had suspected, the real object of his visit there. Massie had gone off on his wedding trip, but was expected to write to his friends in Congress, and to co-operate with Worthington and other citizens of Ross county. The movement was successful.

On May 7, 1800, Congress passed an act dividing the Northwest Territory into two parts, separated by a line beginning on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River, where Carrollton, Ky., is now located, some twenty-five or thirty miles west of the present west boundary of Ohio, thence by a line a little east of north, to Fort Recovery, which is on that west boundary, and thence due north until it intersected the boundary line between the United States and Canada. The eastern division was to remain under the then existing territorial government, and the seat of government was to be at Chillicothe until it should be otherwise ordered by the Territorial Legislature (1 Chase Stat. 70).

To Mr. Harrison, the delegate in Congress, aided by Mr. Worthington, the passage of the act was mainly due. It was in the teeth and eyes of St. Clair's project for a division into three parts. Harrison was made Governor of the West or Indiana Division, but with a declaration on his part that if his friends on the Ohio River, and at Chillicothe, should express a wish for him to resign that office, he would do so. He wrote that he would be in Chillicothe at the meeting of the Legislature.

Now the parties, Federalist and Republican, after a short pause to take breath, renewed the struggle. The then term of

service of Governor St. Clair was to expire in December, 1800. As early as July or August of that year, his friends circulated petitions in Cincinnati and elsewhere, asking for his continuance in office and for censure upon the inhabitants of Ross county for their alleged misrepresentation of his conduct. In September, it was reported that a scheme was on foot to secure the ruin of Chillicothe by having the members of the Legislature from Hamilton county in the west unite with those from Washington county in the east, to elect one of the delegates of the latter to a seat in Congress to succeed Mr. Harrison, in return for which favor, the Washington county members were to unite with those from Hamilton county in the passage of an act to remove the seat of government from Chillicothe to Cincinnati, and afterward, through the influence of their delegate in Congress, and the Governor's friends, to continue the Governor in office, and effect another and different division of the territory so as to procrastinate the formation of a new state as long as possible. What happened afterward proved this report to be a pretty distinct "shadow of a coming event."

Congress at the same session at which it passed its original act for the division of the Territory into two parts, also passed an act directing the census of the eastern part to be taken under the direction of the Territorial Secretary.

In the meantime the opponents of the Governor and of his policy had organized a committee, of which Dr. Edward Tiffin was the head. This committee issued an address to the inhabitants of the Northwest Territory who resided east of a line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami River, calling their attention to the act for taking the census, and expressing the belief that it would appear that the number of inhabitants required by the Ordinance of 1787 in order to entitle them to a state government, would be reached, or nearly so. They therefore recommended their fellowcitizens to take into consideration the propriety of forming a state government, and to instruct their representatives at the next meeting of the General Assembly to govern themselves accordingly; but to keep in view the additional expense a state government would involve, as well as the superior advantages to be derived therefrom.

Secretary Byrd was busy taking the required census.

The Legislature met on November 5, 1800. It was a short session. Mr. Chase, referring to it, in his sketch of the History of Ohio, says that at this session "the increasing unpopularity of Governor St. Clair was evidenced by the debates and votes upon the answer to his speech. An argumentative remonstrance relative to the erection of new counties and his mode of exercising the veto power, was presented to him on behalf of both houses, to which he returned a long and labored reply, but conceded nothing." Some of the best friends of the Governor, including Mr. Burnet, regarded the reasons set forth in the reply "as more plausible than solid," and as reflecting unnecessarily upon the judgment or intelligence of the Assembly. At this point the Legislature retired from the controversy, and many of its members now began to anticipate statehood as the only way to escape from what they regarded as a harsh, oppressive and arbitrary rule.

The scheme of the St. Clair party to unite the Washington and Hamilton county members, took form by the election of Mr. McMillan, a warm St. Clair partisan from Hamilton county, as delegate to fill the vacancy occasioned by the appointment of Harrison as Governor of Indiana, until the 4th of March, then next, a period of about three months, while Major Paul Fearing, of Marietta, another Federalist, was elected for the full term of two years.

At this period, "the old man," as his opponents invariably called the Governor, introduced a little strategy, borrowed from the art of war, with which he was familiar in his earlier life. He knew that his term of office would expire on December 9, 1800, a fact which was not generally known, and he determined to make use of this knowledge in such a way as to defeat any plan for the sitting of the Assembly after his term should expire, with Secretary Byrd as Acting Governor. St. Clair held the opinion that the case of a vacancy in the office by reason of the expiration of the term thereof, was not one provided for by the Act of Congress, during which the Secretary should act in the Governor's place. He knew that the Assembly and the Secretary were of a contrary opinion, but he knew also that he had the

power to prorogue and dissolve the Assembly at pleasure. He determined to exericse this latter power at a time when it would be too late to confer with the Secretary (whose home was in Cincinnati,) and too late to arrange for completing the public business that might be then pending. He concealed this determination in his own bosom. In the latter part of November a rumor that the Governor's term would expire on December 9, having reached the Secretary's ears, he considered it a trick to prevent the forwarding of petitions to the President by him and his friends, against St. Clair's reappointment, inasmuch as in the event of the expiration of the term at that date, such reappointment would likely be made, before the petitions, etc., could reach Washington City. Secretary Byrd, however, wrote to Col. Massie to know when in his opinion the session would be closed, intending to go to Chillicothe with the view to act in the Governor's place, and continue the sitting of the Assembly. But before any word could reach him, the Governor developed his scheme. On December 2 he sent a message to the Assembly declaring that on the 9th its session must end, as on that day his term would expire, and also declaring that a vacancy so occurring was not a case provided for by law, in which the Secretary could become acting Governor.

Mr. Burnet says it was the prevailing opinion that the Governor should have given notice of his view of the powers of the Secretary and of his intention to prorogue the Legislature, in his address at the opening of the session, and that his best friends were apprehensive that he did not do so for the express purpose of preventing the interference of the Secretary until it would be too late for such interference to be of any service.

The development of this piece of strategy acted like the Hudibrastic gun which "kicked back and knocked its owner over." It wakened the good opinion of the Governor's friends as to his candor and fairness, as well as to his wisdom and judgment, while it aroused the indignation and wrath of his opponents.

St. Clair was speedily reappointed by President Adams. The contest was continued with renewed activity and much bitterness. The development of events, led to the adoption of plans, not seriously thought of at the beginning. The opponents of

the Governor at first sought from Congress a bare modification of the veto power; next came charges against the Governor and the effort to remove him from office, and finally the creation of a new state with a Governor of their own choice.

It was not until February, 1801, that Mr. Jefferson's election as successor to President Adams was assured. That event inspired new hopes in the minds of the democratic Republicans of the Territory, and was a warning to the Governor's party to proceed with caution, but the warning was unheeded.

The citizens of Marietta early in 1801, at a public meeting appointed a committee of five to report an address to the citizens of their own and other counties. That address was reported to an adjourned public meeting, and carried, after debate, by a large majority. It charged the opponents of Governor St. Clair, as being designing characters, aiming at self-aggrandisement and willing to sacrifice the right and property of the citizens of the Territory at the shrine of private ambition, and deprecated the domestic tempest thus created, as only equaled by the dangers of a foreign war. It disclaimed and opposed the idea of forming a state government as involving an expense beyond the power of the people to support.

All through the summer of 1801 the struggle went on. The spirit of National politics entered largely into the controversy.

The election held in October, 1801, for members of the second General Assembly, now confined to the counties of the newly created Eastern Division resulted in a majority favorably inclined to the Governor. They convened in Chillicothe on November 23, 1801.

The project for changing the boundaries prescribed in the Ordinence of 1787 for the states within the Territory, which had been a part of the scheme formed by the Governor and his friends at the Session of 1800, but postponed at that time, was now resumed, and a Bill declaring the assent of the Territory to an alteration of the Ordinance of 1787, by Congress, so as to change the boundaries as desired, was the first act of legislation at that session. It was approved by the Governor on December 21st, 1801.

The whole course of the majority indicated strongly the carrying out of an agreed plan to unite the upper and lower portions (on the Ohio River) of the Eastern Division of the Territory, against the middle portion.

St. Clair, himself, wrote to delegate Fearing, at Washington, "you cannot imagine the agitation this legislation has created among the people here."

The minority, embracing the leading republicans, Tiffin, Worthington and Langham, of Ross; Massie and Darlington, of Adams, and Dunlevy and Morrow of Hamilton, united in a strong protest against it. A public meeting was held at Chillicothe and a Committee appointed to draft and forward a petition to Congress asking it to refuse its assent to the proposed measure for division. This was put in circulation for subscription by the people and agents were sent out to procure aid in all parts of the Territory. Messrs. Worthington and Baldwin were appointed to go to Washington in person, to advocate the cause of the petitioners against the proposed division, which was styled "a conspiracy of the representatives of the upper and lower parts of the Territory to ruin the middle part."

As an evidence of the local agitation to which the Governor referred, caused by the passage of this Boundary Act, and by the threat of certain members of the Governor's party to remove the capitol back to Cincinnati (among whom was Mr. Scheifflein, of Wayne county, now Michigan, who had spoken very freely on the subject of the removal from Cincinnati, and the agency of the people of Chillicothe in bring it about), we cite a disgraceful event. For two evenings, Christmas eve and the evening before, unruly and unlawful assemblages of certain men of the baser sort, led by that young man of "talents, good morals and good disposition," according to his letter of introduction to Col. Massie, Michael Baldwin, broke into the boarding house, where the Governor and many of the members of the Assembly lodged, with great and riotous uproar. Mr. Worthington on that occasion seized Baldwin and threatened him with death if he did not desist. Scheifflein met the mob with a brace of loaded pistols and drove them back into the street. The Governor in recounting the affair, says one of the members was actually collared, but being

armed with a dirk instantly drew it, but fortunately was prevented from putting his assailant to death. The sight of this weapon made the mob quit the room. Under the expostulations of the Governor, and with the aid of Mr. Worthington and a deputy sheriff, the rioters were quieted and the riot ended without serious injury to any one on either side, but as a result, it hastened the very thing the rioters desired to prevent, for the legislature on the first day of the new year, passed the act for the removal of the capitol to Cincinnati, as expressive of their feelings on this occasion.

Before this was done, Worthington and Baldwin had left on their mission to Washington City. Worthington, on the 31st of December, was in Zanesville, waiting for Baldwin, inveighing against him as the worst traveller he had ever met with, having broken down his horse by bad treatment, and threatening to cane him on sight; but after their arrival in Washington, he reports Mr. Baldwin as acting with "great prudence and sobriety."

Messengers were also sent to Washington in behalf of the Governor's party, and the contest there was carried on with wonderful energy and perseverance on both sides, aided by constant correspondence with parties in the Territory. St. Clair seems from his letters to have been the most active and persistent of any one on his side. His old friends of the Federal party and of the old army, proved friends indeed. Senator James Ross, of Pennsylvania, for whom Ross County, Ohio, had been named by Governor St. Clair, stood by him to the last.

The mission of Worthington and Baldwin was simply to defeat the change in the boundaries of the Territory, as was then proposed by the Legislature, and to secure the removal of St. Clair. It was not long, however, before they and other Democratic Republicans in the Territory and at Washington City, developed a plan to procure the passage of an act to authorize a convention of delegates elected by the people of the Territory, to declare whether they wished to form a state government, and if so, to adopt a constitution for that purpose. This act was passed by Congress on April 30th, 1802, by a large majority, and this practically settled the controversy.

The effort to remove Governor St. Clair was not lost sight of. Charges were filed against him by Secretary Byrd, and counter charges against the Secretary, by the Governor, in the office of the Secretary of State at Washington, where they are still on file. Col. Worthington also informally filed charges of his own, promising to follow them by formal charges to be prepared and forwarded by Col. Massie and the Committee at Chillicothe, and to be sustained by proofs of the Governor's misconduct, his abuse of power, his unfitness for the office, and his lack of devotion to the cause of equal rights. All these remain on file at Washington City, in the office of the Secretary of State, and recent publications have brought many of them to light. The effort to remove him failed on the charges filed, but later, an ill advised speech which he was permitted to make, not as Governor, but as a citizen to whom some courtesy was due, before the Constitutional Convention, which met in Chillicothe on November 1, 1802, was considered by President Jefferson sufficiently reprehensible to warrant his removal from office. This was done November 22, 1802, and thereafter the functions of his office devolved on Charles Willing Byrd, the Secretary of the Territory, who continued to discharge them until Dr. Tiffin's inauguration as Governor of the new State, on March 3, 1803, when he, by virtue of an appointment by President Jefferson, became United States District Judge for the District of Ohio.

In reviewing the controversy, it is apparent that no one man among the opponents of Governor St. Clair is entitled to the appellation of *leader* in the movement which led to the Governor's downfall and the formation of the new State. In reading an account of the part taken by *any one* of them, we are apt to say, "this was the *leader,* and the rest were *followers.*"

Young Harrison, with Judge Symmes at his back, as the first Territorial delegate to Congress;

Secretary Byrd, who from his official position was able to exert a powerful influence in direct antagonism to the Governor.

John Smith, of Hamilton County, whose native talents and mental energy, and whose ambition to excel, urged him to con-

stant application and soon raised him to a standing among the influential leaders of his day;

Dr. Edward Tiffin, that admirable presiding officer over political bodies, great in ability and in steady adherence to his convictions of right and duty;

Col. Massie, as the earliest and most influential of the pioneers, with large interests at stake, and with singular ability to maintain them; not ambitious of political preferment, but giving most valuable aid and counsel in advancing the cause he espoused;

Col. Worthington, as second to none in mental vigor, alertness, and shrewdness; untiring and persevering to the last degree, giving up the comforts of home during prolonged absences at Philadelphia and Washington, watching every turn in the prolonged controversy, spurring up the tardy, incessant in action until the result is reached and then announcing that result in a brief letter to Col. Massie from Washington on April 30th, 1802, in these words: "I do myself the pleasure to enclose you a copy of the act for the admission of the Territory into the Union as a state. I leave this place in an hour."

When we take these, with Morrow and others, that might be named, all into one view, we perceive that while each was entitled to a conspicuous position, all were one in spirit, purpose and high ambition. We must write on their joint escutcheon, the motto; "E Pluribus Unum."

But who can refrain from dropping a tear of pity over the sad misfortunes of St. Clair. His services to his country in the days which tried men's souls, his high qualities of head and heart, command our admiration. Ah! we say, if he had only seen the trend of events, their inevitable progress toward equality of rights, and the abolition of the distinctions which separate the few from the many! If he had only realized on that fatal day of dissent from the will of the people, that "he who spits against the wind, spits in his own face!" If he had only yielded, as far as he might without violating conscience, by giving up or modifying the exercise of his absolute negative on the will of the people as expressed by their representatives, and been content to guide the ship of State amid the sea of new opinions

upon which it had been launched, he might have ranked for all time, as he did at first, along with the heroes of his age.

The actors of that eventful period are all in their graves, and as Judge Burnet, one of their latest survivors, said of them, "a retrospect of their actions will show that at times, unreasonable warmth and jealousy of motive, existed on both sides." Let us join with him in the wish that "Whatever of abuse, or reproach, may have been cast then, by either party on the other, may now be covered by the mantle of oblivion."

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(June 6, 1902.)

The seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society was held in the parlors of the Y. M. C. A. building, Columbus, Ohio, at 2:30 P. M. June 6, 1902. The following members were present:

Judge J. H. Anderson, Columbus; Mr. E. H. Archer, Columbus; Mr. G. F. Bareis, Canal Winchester; Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Mansfield; Mr. Gerard Fowke, Chillicothe; Prof. Frank S. Fox, Columbus; Hon. R. E. Hills, Delaware; Mr. W. H. Hunter, Chillicothe; Mr. J. J. Janney, Columbus; Col. James Kilbourne, Columbus; Rev. I. F. King, Columbus; Rev. N. B. C. Love, Deshler; Hon. A. R. McIntire, Mt Vernon; Prof. J. P. MacLean, Franklin; Prof. C. L. Martzolff, New Lexington; Prof. W. C. Mills, Columbus; Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield; Hon. E. O. Randall, Columbus; Hon. D. J. Ryan, Columbus; Hon. S. S. Rickly, Columbus; Col. W. A. Taylor, Columbus; Rev. H. A. Thompson, Dayton; Gen. J. L. Vance, Gallipolis; Hon. E. E. White, Columbus; Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus; Gen. George B. Wright, Columbus; Prof. G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Gen. R. Brinkerhoff. E. O. Randall, Secretary, was called upon for the minutes of the previous annual meeting (held April 26, 1901, Y. M. C. A. building, Columbus, Ohio).

The Secretary read the condensed report of that meeting as published in Volume X (page 72) of the annual publication of the Society. That report was received and approved.

In regard to the past year's work the Secretary made the following report:

Heretofore I have prepared this report at the beginning of the year, and had it published in the Quarterly and also in pamphlet form, the latter for the benefit of the Governor of

Ohio, and for the members of the legislature, but after a conference with Governor Nash, it was concluded that such was an unnecessary expense and that my report made at the annual meeting, and which will be published in our annuals, would be sufficient for all purposes. It must be remembered that the minute book which I keep has full stenographic reports of the annual meeting and the meetings of the Trustees and the Executive Committee. I now make for the first time my report for the past year, beginning with the last annual meeting (April 26, 1901).

PERMANENT BUILDING PROJECT.

As to the permanent building project, which was the main topic of discussion at our previous annual meeting, there is much to report, though little of result. At that meeting, as a reference to the minutes will show, a committee of five consisting of Dr. W. H. Scott, Hon. C. P. Galbreath, Gen. J. W. Keifer, Prof. G. Frederick Wright and E. O. Randall were appointed a standing committee on permanent building. This committee was to meet at the call of the Secretary. At the meeting of the Executive Committee, held July 12, it was suggested to the Secretary that he confer with some of the wealthy people of Columbus with the view of obtaining personal subscriptions towards the erection of a building. Our very efficient and long serving treasurer, Mr. Rickly, stated that he would give $1,000 toward the project of purchasing the First Presbyterian church property on the corner of State and Third streets; the building could then be had for $25,000. Several leading citizens were interviewed, but the result was so discouraging that the scheme of securing voluntary individual aid was abandoned. The sentiment was almost universal that the Society was a state institution, and should be provided for by the state. The idea of uniting the project with that of the Art School Building was canvassed, but to no avail. It was finally concluded that we could only look to the legislature for the consumation of our hopes in this direction.

On July 15, 1901, there was a called meeting at the Hollenden Hotel, Cleveland; there were present Messrs. Orr, Niles and McGrew of the State Library Commission; C. B. Galbreath,

State Librarian, Mr. W. H. Brett and other officers of the State Library Association, two or three members of the legislature, several newspaper correspondents and E. O. Randall, representing our Society. The meeting held lengthy sessions both in the afternoon and in the evening, the purpose being, if possible, to formulate some united plan which could be presented to the forthcoming legislature. It was recognized that the State Library needed new quarters, as well as the State Archaeological and Historical Society. It was believed that those two could be domiciled in one building, and that support in that scheme could be obtained from the State Library Association. It was known that the State University needed a library building, and would perhaps ask for one from the 75th General Assembly. It was certain that three library buildings could not be secured, probably not even two. As Secretary Randall was not empowered to commit the Society to any plan the meeting resulted merely in the ventilation of the views of the various parties represented. The Secretary reported the Cleveland meeting to the Executive Committee at its meeting on September 13.

On November 15, the Permanent Building Committee met in the office of Secretary Randall with all members present, every phase of the building project was considered, and it was practically unanimous that a plan of union with the State Library was not only feasible, but perhaps under the circumstances, the only one obtainable. The Secretary, however, expressed great doubt whether the legislature would provide funds for the grounds and for a building so soon after the erection of the new state house annex. The result of this conference, which it was agreed was merely suggestive, was to be reported by the Secretary to the Trustees of the Society at their next meeting.

On January 10, 1902, the Secretary, representing the Society; and the members of the Library Commission, held a conference in the State Library office. The commissioners at that time announced that after carefully looking the field over and conferring with the Governor and leading members of the legislature, they had concluded not to ask the general assembly for any appropriation for a building. They would leave the Historical Society to take the initiative in that matter if the Society so

desired. They would heartily support us. The building might practically be ours and be called the HISTORICAL BUILDING. The State Library to have quarters therein. Following this conference the Secretary held interviews with the Governor, speaker of the House and chairman of the House Finance Committee. All were decidedly of the opinion that it would be unadvisable for our Society to ask for a new building, especially in the city where an additional expense would be incurred for the purchase of a site. The only project at all likely to be approved would be an appropriation for the erection of a building on the University grounds.

On January 20, at a called meeting of the Trustees, at which twelve were present, the Secretary made a full report of the course of the building project to that date, and the condition it was then in. He urged that the trustees ask the legislature for funds to erect a building on the University campus, believing that to be the only request which the legislature would grant. President W. O. Thompson, O. S. U., was present and made a plea for the building on the campus. He stated the building would be entirely under our control, and management, but that it could receive light and heat from the University without expense to ourselves, that he believed it was the proper place for us, that the Wisconsin State Society and the Pennsylvania State Society had their quarters on the University grounds of their respective states. Concerning this idea a lengthy discussion ensued. It developed, however, that with the exception of the Secretary the opinion was unanimous that the Society should not go upon the college campus but should wait until it could secure quarters near or in the center of the city.

As it would have been a vain thing, and indeed militated against the interest of the Society, under the circumstances, to ask for this, the building project for the present was abandoned. The building committee, however, by vote was continued with the idea of having the matter brought before the next (76th) General Assembly.

SERPENT MOUND.

January 9, 1902, the Secretary visited Serpent Park and was present at the erection of the tablet on the mound, near

the "tail of the serpent," which act was in accordance with the provisions of the deed of the property to the Society from Harvard University. A detailed account of the placing of this monument will be found in the Quarterly of the Society for April, 1902. This tablet is made of beautiful Vermont gray granite and cost the Society $200.00.

May 30, the Secretary paid another visit to Serpent Mound for the purposes of inspection. He found that it had been most excellently cared for by the custodian, Mr. Daniel Wallace, who lives in a log hut just back of the mound park. The serpent has been thoroughly restored to serpentine perfection, and was never, speaking after the manner of snakes, in so "charming" a condition, thanks to the faithfulness and efficiency of his keeper, Mr. Wallace. The great need of the park is a suitable building for the residence of the custodian. This has been anticipated, as will be noted under the report concerning the appropriations.

APPROPRIATIONS.

Secretary reported that while the general assembly had not granted all that the Society asked for in its budget, it had made reasonable appropriations for the various departments of our work. The Secretary had been most courteously treated by the members of the Finance Committees and the members of the legislature in general. It was certainly a great tribute to the work and standing of our Society, that its requirements were recognized and cheerfully acquiesced in. For the year 1902 we were granted in the appropriation bill $2,500 for the Publication Fund. For Field work, care of Ft. Ancient and Serpent Mound, $3,750.00—(this to include $750 for the erection of a building on Serpent Mound.) Current expenses $3,000. For the year 1903 Publication Fund $2,000. For Field work, care of Ft. Ancient and Serpent Mound, $2,000. Current expenses $2,500.

The new members of the General Assembly were desirous of obtaining copies of our publications, and at the request of various members of the Legislature, and not at the request of our Society, the finance committee placed in the general appropriation bill the item of $6,500 for "the reprinting of volumes

one to ten of our annual publications, each member of the 75th general assembly to receive ten complete sets." In the general appropriation bill for 1903 the item of $2,500 was inserted for the purpose of permitting the Society to make an exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, to be held in St. Louis in the year 1904. It being understood that this exhibit would be in quarters properly constructed in the Ohio building.

MIAMISBURG MOUND.

Hon. John C. Myers, representative from Montgomery county, made the request to the Society that it purchase the Miamisburg Mound at Miamisburg. This mound is the second most important one of its character perhaps in the United States. It is of perfect conical shape, some seventy feet high with the circular base of three hundred feet in diameter. It is located just outside the city on one of the highways. Prof. Mills, the Curator, and Secretary Randall visited it and conferred with one of the proprietors, only to learn that the price asked for the same was $6,000, which included only some five acres of very cheap land. The Secretary refused to make any such proposition to the Finance Committee of the House; $1,000 would be regarded as a high price. Mr. Myers drew up and introduced a bill appropriating that amount ($1,000) for the purchase of the mound. This bill was referred to the finance committee, but it was thought best not to push its approval at the present session, as the committee had already done handsomely by the Society. The bill never left the pocket of the committee.

OHIO STATE CENTENNIAL.

Hon. D. M. Massie, Chillicothe, brought to the attention of Secretary Randall the forthcoming centennial anniversary of the admission of Ohio into the Union. After some correspondence a resolution was prepared by Mr. Massie and introduced by Hon. James C. Foster, of Ross county. It unanimously passed the House and also the Senate, where it was championed by Hon. Thomas M. Watts, Senator from Highland county. That resolution is as follows:

WHEREAS, On the 29th day of November, 1802, the first constitution of Ohio was ratified by the convention which framed it; and,

WHEREAS, On February 17, 1803, congress passed an act admitting Ohio into the Union under that constitution; and,

WHEREAS, On March 1, 1803, the first General Assembly of Ohio assembled and organized and Ohio thereupon became a state; and,

WHEREAS, The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society proposes to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the above named great and important events in the history of Ohio in a suitable manner; and,

WHEREAS, The General Assembly of the state of Ohio recognizes the importance and significance of these events and believes that they should be duly celebrated; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society be requested to take charge of said celebration and conduct it, and that the governor of this state be requested and empowered to appoint seven honorary commissioners to represent the state in the preparation for and carrying on of this centennial celebration.

PUBLICATIONS.

As to the publications of the past year the Society's Quarterly has regularly appeared, viz: July and October, 1901, and January and April, 1902. These quarterlies have since appeared in book form as volume X of the annual publications. The book speaks for itself. It is perhaps the most valuable in the series of those issued by the Society. In May, 1902, appeared the long promised "Archæological History of Ohio," the material for which was prepared by Mr. Gerard Fowke. It makes a large quarto volume of 775 pages with some 350 illustrations. The total cost of this book, including plates and the compensation for the services of Mr. Fowke, was $3,200. This comprises the first edition of one thousand copies. It will be sold to those not entitled to a copy at the price of $5. The Society is certainly to be congratulated that it has finally succeeded in presenting to the public a complete, attractive work on the Archæological re-

mains in Ohio. No state in the Union could produce a book equal to it.

ITINERARY OF THE SECRETARY.

July 18, 1901, was celebrated by the Pan-American Exposition as Ohio Day. The Secretary was present at the exercises held in the auditorium, which were witnessed by thousands of Buckeyes. A full account of the proceedings of that day was prepared and published by the Secretary in the October Quarterly of the Society. (Page 243, Volume X.)

In September the Secretary made a trip to the Maumee Valley for the purpose of visiting the localities of Forts Miami and Meigs and Battle Field of Fallen Timbers. A hasty trip was also made to Thamesville, Ontario, Canada, to obtain correct data concerning the battle field of the Thames, on which Tecumseh was killed. During the year visits were made to Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound pertinent to the care of those places.

APPOINTMENT OF TRUSTEES.

On September 9, 1901, Hon. Israel Williams, of Hamilton, Ohio, a Life Member and Trustee of the Society, died in Denver, Colorado. An obituary notice of Mr. Williams appears in Volume X, page 249 of the annual. On November 22 Governor Nash appointed Hon. R. E. Hills of Delaware to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Williams. Mr. Hills' term will extend to February 1904. On April 3, 1902, Governor Nash appointed Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield and E. O. Randall Columbus, to succeed themselves as Trustees, the term of appointment continuing until February 1905.

LECTURE OF REV. HENRY M. BAUM.

On the evening of April 11, 1902, Rev. Dr. Henry M. Baum, D. C. L., delivered a lecture under the auspices of our Society in the auditorium of the Ohio State University. An immense audience of the literary and cultured people of the city and University completely filled the large hall, and for two hours the lecturer held the undivided attention of his hearers. His

subject was "Archaelogical Discoveries in the Old World." The lecture was copiously illustrated by colored stereoptican views. Mr. Baum is the editor of the Archaeological Monthly known as "Records of the Past," published at Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Secretary reported that the interest in, and attention to, the affairs of the Society the past year by the members of the Executive Committee, had been unabating. Meetings were held at Columbus on May 21, July 12, September 13 and November 20, 1901 and January 20, May 9, 1902. There had also been several meetings by special committees, publication, finance, Ft. Ancient, etc.

CONCLUSION OF SECRETARY'S REPORT.

In conclusion the Secretary congratulated the President, Trustees and members of the Society upon the work accomplished the past year. There has never been a more fruitful year in the history of the Society. It had become more widely known, its influence had been increased, its value more largely recognized and its work more permanent. Its great need now was a building, and room for the proper care and display of the property it was acquiring and for the library which was rapidly increasing in size and importance. The report of the Curator concerning the Library, Museum and Field Work would be given by Mr. Mills. The Secretary particularly complimented the work and valuable co-operation of the Curator.

The report of the Secretary was received, approved and ordered placed on file.

Mr. W. H. Hunter offered a resolution that a vote of thanks be given Secretary Randall for his faithful and excellent work in behalf of the Society before the Legislature. The resolution was endorsed by several, and adopted by a unanimous vote.

Prof. Wright and Mr. Fowke spoke of the value of the Miamisburg Mound, and expressed a desire that it become the property of the Society. The Executive Committee was authorized to use every effort to get possession of the Mound.

The Curator's report was here called for and is given in full at the close of the report of this meeting.

The thanks of the Society were extended to Prof. Mills for the zeal and enterprise displayed in his work and the past year and for his excellent report concerning the explorations of the Adena Mound.

Mr. E. F. Wood, assistant treasurer, in behalf of Treasurer S. S. Rickley, made the following report:

TREASURER'S REPORT.

For Year Ending February 1, 1902.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand February 1, 1901	$776 26
Active membership dues	84 00
Life membership dues	292 50
Interest on permanent fund	72 99
Refunded from expenses of 1900	25 00
Books sold and subscriptions	240 90
From State Treasurer, appropriation for—	
Reprinting publications	3,600 00
Repair and care of Serpent Mound	588 15
Care of Fort Ancient	988 90
Current expenses	2,794 04
Field work and explorations	1,000 00
Publications	1,354 71
Total	$11,817 45

DISBURSEMENTS.

Publications	$1,357 66
Museum and library	277 42
Job printing	50 00
Office expenses	100 00
Salaries	1,405 00
Field work	1,275 13
Fort Ancient	1,128 90
Serpent Mound	603 15
Exhibit at Pan-American Exposition	219 50
Committee and trustees expenses	154 56
Reprinting publications (balance)	3,600 00
Expenses of annual meeting, 1901	83 95
Sundry incidental expenses	78 08
Express and freight	78 51

Postage	136 84
Fire insurance	52 00
Transferred to permanent fund	365 49
Sundry supplies	27 09
Balance on hand February 1, 1902	824 17
Total	$11,817 45

S. S. RICKLY, *Treasurer.*

The Permanent Fund on February 1, 1902 amounted to $2,683.47.

The report of the Treasurer was approved and ordered placed on file.

ELECTION OF TRUSTEES.

The Secretary announced that the Trustees whose terms expired at this meeting were the following: Hon. Samuel F. Hunt, Cincinnati; Prof. J. P. MacLean, Franklin; Prof. G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin; Col. James Kilbourne, Columbus; Judge James H. Anderson, Columbus. Upon motion the chair appointed a committee of five upon nomination, viz: Rev. H. A. Thompson, Hon. D. J. Ryan, Mr. George F. Bareis, Hon. A. R. McIntire and Gen. George B. Wright. The committee after a conference reported in favor of the reelection of Prof. G. F. Wright, Col. J. Kilbourne, Judge J. H. Anderson, Prof. J. P. MacLean; and Prof. C. L. Martzolff, New Lexington (place of Samuel F. Hunt). These to serve until February, 1905. Upon motion the Secretary was authorized to cast the ballot of the Society for the nominees named by the committee. The board of trustees therefore now stands:

TERM EXPIRES IN 1903.

HON. ELROY M. AVERY	Cleveland.
BISHOP B. W. ARNETT	Wilberforce.
HON. S. S. RICKLY	Columbus.
HON. A. R. MCINTIRE	Mt. Vernon.
MR. G. F. BAREIS	Canal Winchester.

TERM EXPIRES IN 1904.

GEN. R. BRINKERHOFF	Mansfield.
HON. M. D. FOLLETT	Marietta.
HON. D. J. RYAN	Columbus.
REV. H. A. THOMPSON	Dayton.
MR. W. H. HUNTER	Chillicothe.

TERM EXPIRES IN 1905.

Col. James Kilbourne	Columbus.
Prof. J. P. MacLean	Franklin.
Prof. G. Frederick Wright	Oberlin.
Judge James H. Anderson	Columbus.
Prof. C. L. Martzolff	New Lexington.

APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR.

(Terms expire as indicated.)

Hon. Chas. P. Griffin, Toledo	1903
Rev. N. B. C. Love, Deshler	1903
Gen. Geo. B. Wright, Columbus	1904
Hon. R. E. Hills, Delaware	1904
Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield	1905
Hon. E. O. Randall, Columbus	1905

FRANK B. SANBORN.

At this period of the meeting President Brinkerhoff introduced Mr. Frank B. Sanborn of Concord, Mass., formerly editor of the Springfield Republican, friend, patron and biographer of John Brown, author of the Lives of Emerson, Thoreau, Channing and other distinguished men of letters whom he intimately knew. Mr. Sanborn responded to an enthusiastic reception in the following address:

"It gives me great pleasure to be here and talk with you gentlemen about the American Indian. Twenty-four years ago I had a chance of observing a tribe of Indians in the northern part of Massachussets, and I discovered this fact about these Indians which may be interesting to you, that out of this tribe of five hundred, only one of them (and that a woman) was a pure Indian. The others were all of mixed blood. This woman was a fine type of a middle aged, pure blooded Indian, her husband was a mixture of Indian and negro but was a very bright, intelligent fellow and was really the head of the tribe. I suppose our Massachusetts Indians represent as well as any, the fact that civilization leaves its traces. The pure Indian type is becoming more and more rare and probably the only pure types are found in the far west. When I came here I was informed that you were going to visit one of these wonderful earthworks and I hope that I may have the pleasure

of being one of your party. I have heard much regarding Ft. Ancient and want to hear the latest theories regarding its age and structure."

CENTENNIAL AT CHILLICOTHE.

Mr. W. H. Hunter spoke earnestly and enthusiastically in favor of the Society holding its celebration of the Ohio Centennial in Chillicothe, the first capital of the state, and where the constitution was adopted, on November 29, 1802. Mr. Hunter submitted resolutions, requesting the Centennial be held at Chillicothe, by the City Council of Chillicothe, signed by its President, Fred C. Mader, and Robert D. Alexander, City Clerk; by the Ministerial Association of Chillicothe signed by Austin M. Caurtenay, President, and Chauncey M. Hamben, Secretary; from the Merchants' Protective Association of Chillicothe, signed by its President, Charles Hoyt and Secretary H. K. Galbraith; from the Landlords' Protective Association signed by W. D. Mills, President, H. K. Galbraith, Secretary; and from the Grocers' Protective Association. These were all received and ordered placed upon file.

Col. W. A. Taylor made a very interesting and detailed statement concerning the admission of Ohio into the Union, the importance of the event and the fitness of its recognition by the Historical and Archaeological Society. He favored the celebration being held in Chillicothe.

Prof. C. L. Martzolff stated that it would be a very fitting thing for the Society to prepare a little publication concerning the centennial, its significance, the literature pertinent thereto, and a program to be followed by the public schools in celebrating the event on the day in question. This suggestion met with hearty approval but no action was taken thereon.

After considerable discussion concerning the date and place, to be agreed upon, for the Centennial celebration of the admission of Ohio, it was moved and agreed by unanimous consent, that the rule of section 1, article 5, of the constitution, be suspended as to the holding of the annual meeting at Columbus for the year 1903, and that the time and place of the next annual meeting be referred to the executive committee for their action.

This was done in order that if desired the annual meeting of the Society might be held at Chillicothe at the time of the centennial celebration.

FT. ANCIENT.

Mr. Bareis, chairman of the Ft. Ancient Committee, being called upon for a report of the work done during the past year, said: "I hope that every one will try to arrange to go to Ft. Ancient tomorrow with the Trustees, and see what excellent work has been done in the way of permanent improvements. The house and out buildings have all been newly roofed, the walks and roads are in splendid condition. We have also set out an orchard and built a new fence of 100 rods. I also wish to say that thousands of people from all over the state have visited the fort during the past year."

Dr. H. A. Thompson moved that a vote of thanks be extended the executive committee for their excellent work during the past year. The motion was unanimously carried.

A fitting obituary notice of the death of Thomas Wilson of the Smithsonian Institution was read by Prof. W. C. Mills. (It will be found in another part of this Quarterly.)

There being no further business of importance before the meeting it was adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES.

The annual meeting of the Board of Trustees was held immediately upon the adjournment of the annual meeting of the Society. The following trustees were present: James H. Anderson, G. F. Bareis, R. Brinkerhoff, R. E. Hills, W. H. Hunter, James Kilbourne, N. B. C. Love, A. R. McIntire, J. P. MacLean, C. L. Martzolff, B. F. Prince, E. O. Randall, S. S. Rickly, H. A. Thompson, G. B. Wright, G. Frederick Wright.

Letters regretting absence were received by the Secretary from Samuel F. Hunt, M. D. Follett and B. W. Arnett.

Gen. Wright acted as temporary chairman and E. O. Randall, temporary secretary. The election of the various officers of the Society was then held.

The following list of officers was elected: Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, President; Gen. George B. Wright, 1st Vice President; George F. Bareis, 2d Vice President; E. O. Randall, Secretary and Editor; S. S. Rickly, Treasurer; E. F. Wood, Assistant Treasurer; W. C. Mills, Curator and Librarian.

The following were selected as members of the Executive Committee: G. Frederick Wright, Hon. A. R. McIntire, Prof. B. F. Prince, Hon. D. J. Ryan and W. H. Hunter — with the officers above as ex-officio members.

Upon motion it was decided that the Society accept the invitation from Chillicothe to celebrate at that place the Ohio Centennial Anniversary — the day to be later determined by the Executive Committee.

The Board of Trustees adjourned with the understanding that the Executive Committee would meet at the call of the Secretary.

FORT ANCIENT EXCURSION.

On Saturday, June 7, a party consisting of the officers and accompanying members of the Society made a visit to Fort Ancient, the members of this party were as follows: Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Col. and Mrs. James Kilbourne, Gen. John Beatty, Judge J. H. Anderson, Gen. G. B. Wright, Prof. J. P. MacLean, Hon. A. R. McIntire, Prof. B. F. Prince, Prof. C. L. Martzolff, Dr. H. A. Thompson, Hon. Frank B. Sanborn (Concord, Mass.), Mr. R. S. Neil, Prof. W. C. Mills, M. H. M. Sessions, Mr. G. F. Bareis and E. O. Randall.

The party were met at the station by Mr. Warren Cowen, the custodian of the Fort. Carriages were provided for an inspection of the wonderful and interesting pre-historic walls and fortification. After a lunch at the house of the custodian within the old Fort, addresses were made concerning the various theories and investigations respecting the Fort by Messrs. Mills, MacLean, Sanborn and others. Never has the Fort been in such admirable condition, and Mr. Warren Cowen was highly complimented on all sides for his faithful and efficient service in looking after the property in his charge.

ADDITIONAL LIFE MEMBERS.

Since the last annual meeting the following have become life members of the Society: Hon. David S. Gray, Columbus; Major W. F. Goodspeed, Columbus; Harry P. Wolfe, Columbus; S. S. Knabenshue, Toledo; Emil Schulp, Lovell; Col. E. L. Taylor, Columbus; Rev. N. B. C. Love, Deshler. Mr. Love was elected at the annual meeting in 1901, but his name was inadvertently omitted in the published list.

CHILLICOTHE COMMISSION.

On Thursday, June 19, 1902, Governor Nash, in accordance with the authority granted him by the House Joint Resolution No. 53 (75th General Assembly), introduced by Mr. Foster — this resolution is found in the minutes of the annual meeting *supra* — appointed the following commissioners to co-operate with the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society in the preparation for and carrying on of the Ohio Centennial Celebration: Gen. J. Warren Keifer, Springfield; Hon. Rush R. Sloane, Sandusky; Gen. B. R. Cowen, Cincinnati; Gen. James Barnett, Cleveland; Hon. D. S. Gray, Columbus; Gen. Charles M. Anderson, Greenville; Robert W. Manly, Chillicothe.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN.

BY W. C. MILLS.

(Submitted at the Annual Meeting, June 6, 1902.)

It gives me great pleasure as Curator and Librarian of your Society to make my report upon the conditions and progress of the Museum and Library during the past year ending January 31, 1902.

The work in the Museum has been unusually active during the past year; many changes have been made, especially in the way of new cases for the display of new specimens that have come into our possession. Through the kindness and generosity of the Trustees of the Ohio State University we were able to

procure a number of wall cases that were greatly needed in the Museum.

A number of collections have been added to the Museum during the past year, the most notable being the Adams collection of Portsmouth. This is one of the finest private collections in the State and includes at a rough estimate between three and four thousand specimens, the greater part of which have not yet been catalogued. The collection includes more than 100 pieces of pottery, 60 pipes, more than 100 fine slate and bone pieces such as gorgets, banner stones, bone and shell implements and ornaments, several hundred axes, celts, etc., and one of the finest collection of hematite specimens in the country.

The field work during the past summer has been notably successful. On the 21st of June I entered into a contract with Mr. Froelich, of Chillicothe, to remove the large mound known as Adena, and situated upon his farm, just outside and in sight of the corporate limits of Chillicothe. The finds were very valuable and of especial importance. For a full account of this exploration see No. 4, Vol. X of the Society's publications.

About the middle of February of last year I was directed by the Executive Committee of the Society to prepare and place on exhibition, at the Pan American Exposition, Buffalo, New York, a series of objects representing the archæology of Ohio. This gave me about forty days in which to select the specimens from the Museum, pack and ship them to Buffalo and then unpack and place them on exhibition. This we successfully accomplished in the time allotted for the work, and it was the first complete installation on exhibition in the Ethnology Building. When we take into consideration the large number of specimens removed from the Museum we can but feel, after looking the ground over a little later, that it was a very great undertaking and a very successful one. The number of specimens removed from the Museum was upwards of 10,000, yet only about 8,000 were placed on exhibition; 2,000 were returned for lack of proper space, cases, etc., for their exhibition. The plea set forth by the commissioner at the time, was that he could not spare the room; but the real truth was, we might have been granted twice the amount of space, as the building had finally to be filled with a mis-

cellaneous collection, such as natural history objects, exhibitions of agricultural products, etc., so that the curators in charge were kept busy trying to give the meaning of "Ethnology" and "Archæology," as a great many of the visitors thought perhaps the big word meant some improvement in agriculture or some new natural history specimen. A number of very fine collections were placed in the balcony of the building. This section was very inaccessible, and not more than one person in fifty that entered the building on the ground floor, visited the balcony. The space occupied by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society was on the ground floor and occupied almost one quadrant, with a space of 12 feet square given us in the center of the building. In this center piece we reproduced the twelve-foot section of the Baum prehistoric village site, which was seen for the first time by a great many of our trustees and members. This collection was one of the most attractive features at the Exposition and drew the attention of more people than any single exhibit in the building. It was especially interesting to scientists and to those interested in archæology, and more than one hundred visitors left their cards with a word of encouragement, saying that it was by far the most interesting and valuable collection in the Exposition. The exhibit beside the section of the Baum village site was the material obtained from this village, which may be described as a gentleman expressed himself to me after looking over the collection:

"I have been interested in astronomy all my life, but after looking at this collection I see now why so many people are interested in archæology. I see now why explorations are of so great an importance. By this exhibit I can almost see into this village site, here as is shown I can see what they lived upon, the animals they had for food, the grains they cultivated to make their bread of, implements which they fashion out of bone, stone and shell, the fish hooks with which they caught their fish, the whetstones with which they made their awls and needles and the scraper with which they scraped the tanned skins. Here the representative of the little homes, here the burying ground, and here the refuse pits, all this I imagine I can see at once and

this is what intrests me. I will hereafter take a deep interest in archæology."

I had many kind expressions from learned men from all over the country as to results at the Baum village site.

The remainder of the exhibit was merely a collection of the best specimens of mound-builders' implements and ornaments. We had a good representation of the Flint Ridge material, we also had a good representation of the various valleys of the State; for instance, Scioto valley was represented by the excellent collction of Mr. Adams, of Portsmouth. Mr. Bareis, of Canal Winchester, furnished a number of fine specimens from his collection. Our own work in the field from year to year was highly appreciated by everybody.

One case ten feet in length was filled with copper pieces. But the collection of copper that attracted the most attention of those interested in prehistoric man was the Fort Ancient collection, which was procured by Mr. Bareis.

We also had a representation of a burial at Fort Ancient, and a large drawing of Fort Ancient was placed in a frame and hung upon the wall. We had a number of charts and drawings of various forts throughout the state, also a chart showing the territory excavated at the Baum village site. Upon the wall we also had a large map of Ohio showing the location of mounds and earthworks.

The labeling and arrangement of our collection was not satisfactory. In the first place we were compelled to install the exhibit when the weather was so disagreeable that it was unfit for one to do work in the building. The agreement with the commissioner was that we be furnished a labeler upon our arrival there, but we were unfortunate in not getting this labeler until two days before we were ready to return home. However, in spite of the difficulties which the collection encountered, namely, the arrangement and labeling, we carried off the gold medal against all competitors in the United States. The following were the jurors who passed upon this collection: Prof. Edward S. Morse, Chairman; E. H. Garibay, Prof. W. H. Holmes, Jose I. Torralbas, and Prof. Otis T. Mason. Silver medals were granted to the Field Columbian Museum and

to Prof. Frederick Starr, of Chicago University and the University of Pennsylvania. At the close of the Exposition the collection was carefully packed and every specimen was returned and is now on exhibition in the Museum at Orton Hall.

During the Exposition our collection was carefully looked after in May by Mr. A. B. Coover, of Roxabell, Ohio, and during the months of June, July and August by Miss Pearl Coutellier, assistant in the Museum and Library.

In the past winter the material obtained from the ash pits of the Baum village site was carefully worked over and the bones of the various animals all assorted and selected. This required a great deal of attention and care, especially when it is borne in mind that only part of a barrel of these specimens could be examined at once, and they had to be carted from the main building of the University to Orton Hall, which took a great deal of time and extra work. The question may come to you, "of what value is the collecting of these animal bones from the pits, and what good is to be obtained from a study of them." In the material from Baum village site several important things have been brought to light; in the first place 35% of all the bones found in this village site belong to the Virginia deer. We have in our collection fifty skulls of this animal, of the fifty only two or 4% are female and the remainder or 96% are males. Of this 96%, 74% were killed during fall and winter while the remainder or 22% were killed during the summer. In the first place the finding of so few female skulls would show that they made a selection of the animals they killed, secondly that during the winter and fall they required more animal food because the grain and nut supply was practically exhausted. The following is the list of animals so far found: Virginia deer, elk, raccoon, black bear, box turtle, Indian dog, ground hog, wild cat, gray fox, gray wolf, mink, opossum, beaver, rabbit, muskrat, otter, mountain lion, skunk, wild turkey, wild goose, bald eagle, trumpeter swan, great horned owl, and barred owl. Perhaps the most interesting of the remains is that of the Indian dog. We know that dogs were domesticated by man long before the earliest record of history, their remains being associated with the rude implements of the ancient cave and lake dwellers of Central Europe. The remains of the

dog found in this village site is described by Prof. F. A. Lucas as being "a short-faced one, much the size and proportion of the bull terrier though probably not short haired." Prof. Lucas says he has obtained specimens apparently of this same breed from the old village sites in Texas and from the old Pueblos.

I have also during the winter been working upon material from the different flint quarries of the state. Not only have I been studying the hand specimens obtained from Flint Ridge, but I have been devoting much time to a study of the microscopical section made from flint obtained from the flint quarries at Flint Ridge. For a long time it had been considered that we have no true flint in the United States, and that the only true flint comes from Europe, yet in making sections I have been unable to tell one from the other, only perhaps in color. But when a clear piece of chalcedonic flint is procured which constitutes the greater part of the flint at Flint Ridge, it is quite impossible to tell it from flint that is obtained from many places in Europe. Under the microscope it shows the same structure, the same distribution of crypto crystaline ground mass, which is chalcedonic in character. In Prof. Wilson's report he states that the only difference that he can notice in the Ohio flint and European is that Ohio flint is devoid of foraminifera, and in this I have found Prof. Wilson's statements perfectly true. Yet while Prof. Wilson has used only a few slides, I have used almost seventy, and in these seventy slides I have been able to find as high as twelve different forms of foraminifera in one slide, while in others fewer were found. However, my examination so far proves that we have just as true flint in Ohio as is found in any other country.

I need only to repeat what has so often been presented to our Society, our great need of room for exhibition purposes. With suitable quarters we can within the course of eight or ten years build up one of the finest and best Archaeological Museums in the country. You have heard what Prof. Wright has said concerning the Museum in that far away Siberian country, and what great importance it was to men who would travel long distances to see what could be gathered together for scientific study, in one country. We have the same opportunity in Ohio, perhaps a greater field to work upon, as our President once said in a

speech before this Society, "we are the spoils of all nations," and you can go to any large foreign collection and there find Ohio fully represented. It has often been said by writers on archaeological subjects that if you wanted to study types of Ohio specimens you would be compelled to go to Mr. Douglass' collection in New York city and there you would find the greatest variety of Ohio forms of any place in the country. Why is this? It is simply because men with means and influence have come into the state and carried out of it a vast store house of material. Yet with all that we should not feel discouraged. We have just as good material in Ohio today as perhaps has ever been carried away from it. Although many of the great mounds have been destroyed, yet all I ask is opportunity to follow up the footsteps of some of these explorers and work over the mounds that have been but partly examined and we will have enough to make one of the greatest Museums in the United States.

Room number 7 which the University granted us for a display of historical relics, had to be abandoned as a display room, and used altogether for the storage of duplicate specimens and specimens that come in and lack room in which to display them, and also duplicate books, which come to us from all sections of the country.

The growth of the library of the Society has made wonderful progress. At present every available space is taken up with books and pamphlets. We have at present several hundred volumes representing the various historical and scientific Societies of the world, that should be bound and placed upon shelves. We have suitable place to store the pamphlets but no place to put the books. At the present time our accession book shows 1,643 bound volumes. This does not include volumes that are ready for the bindery or those that will be completed perhaps with the next issue of the various publications that we are receiving in exchange. The accessions to the library are without expense to the Society. We buy no books, all come to us as gifts or exchange. It is sincerely hoped the trustees and members of this Society will take a deeper interest in helping to further the increase of the Library.

FIRST BATTLE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BY W. H. HUNTER, CHILLICOTHE.

[This article was prepared for and read by author at the Banquet of the Ohio Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, held at the Neil House, Columbus, April 19, 1902. It is herewith published at the request of the editor of the Quarterly.—E. O. R.]

At the time the dreadful battle of Point Pleasant was fought at the mouth of the Kanawha river, on October 10, 1774, the American colonies were in the travail of revolution. For years the people had been oppressed by the iron heel of inexorable tyranny to a point beyond further acquiescent endurance. The word had gone forth from settlement to settlement that the hour had come to invoke the arbitrament of the sword to cut the shackles forged upon America by Britain. The aspect of the political horizon was being watched from the tower of thought, and as the days passed the hope of harmony grew dimmer and dimmer. The lightning of revolt rent the skies and the thunder of discontent reverberated from the Green Mountains to the Alamance; from the Delaware to the Ohio. Profound discussions were waged at the firesides in the wilderness where the solitude of the night was interrupted only by the howl of the wolf, the melancholy moan of the ill-boding owl or the shriek of the frightful panther; here was considered the status of the colonies as well as in the drawing room of the tidewater mansion. That an awful storm was brewing was made manifest on every hand.

After the French and Indian wars, whose horrors are unparalleled in historic record; after the terrors of Pontiac's hideous conspiracy; after the treaty of 1765, peace with the savage seemed assured, and the awful nightmare and its terrible realization in Indian atrocities and frightful barbarities had passed away and the indomitable pioneer had crossed the mountains in large numbers to seek home in the ever expanding west. Peace then seemed as sure as the spring blooming of the anemone and the annual putting forth of the golden petals of the wild sunflower. The whole aspect was tranquil save the loud mutterings of discontent that

filled the air with alarming forebodings, and the British heart with fear of insurrection of the outraged colonies. The long period of friendly relationship with the Indians gave the people time to think of their political troubles, and they thought long and intently. They made haste to be bold in denunciation of cruel rule, and whenever the people gathered the menace of tyranny was the absorbing topic. The stamp act had been passed. The clergyman's case had been through court with all its inexorable bitterness. Patrick Henry had delivered the speech heard across the mighty ocean. The tea had been thrown overboard. The Boston massacre had filled the country with horror, for it impressed the alert mind of the American patriot with the possibilities of tyrant rule. American citizens had been shot down on the banks of the Alamance by the cruel soldiers of the crown for expression of opinion. Henry, Jefferson and Carr had organized themselves into that great revolutionary machine, the Committee of Correspondence for the dissemination of intelligence between the colonies. All the colonies were taking note of the conditions obtaining. Jefferson had written his famous document on the rights of Americans which was the Declaration of Independence in the concrete. Massachusetts had made a courageous stand against parliament and her soil had received the baptism of blood. The most determined revolutionists had been summoned to meet in all the colonies. Those were stirring times. The burgesses of Virginia had passed a resolution calling upon the people to set apart a day as one of fasting and prayer for the purpose of invoking Divine direction in the impending political strife, and declaring that it would oppose by all proper and just measures every injury to American rights. Other colony legislative bodies did likewise. Lord Dunmore had dissolved the burgesses and the patriots had retired to the Raleigh tavern where it was resolved to propose an immediate assemblage of a general congress of the colonies to meet annually to deliberate on the common welfare. Hanover Presbytery in Pennsylvania had passed a declaration which had an ominous sound. Revolution was rife. A collision between Britain and her American colonies was in the highest degree probable, and there was only one possible way to avert a conflict that meant the loss to England of the very apple of her eye.

It was evident to the loyalists that an Indian war would serve to unite the colonies on another matter of far more import than politics, of taxation, of freedom, of independence of the crown; for life and home are the most potential factors of harmony. Lord Dunmore, the Governor of Virginia, knew the horrors of Indian warfare; he knew that the young men had grown up in a season of peace and were not inured to war, and he felt that a conflict with the savage native would call out all the Virginians and that there would follow carnage that would steep the soil in blood and so satiate the colonists with its bitterness that they would want no more of it. They were to be forced to drink the bitter cup to the dregs.

At the opening of the spring of 1774 the colonists were at peace with the Indians. The savages were permitting peaceable settlements in Western Virginia and Kentucky and Ohio. The pioneers no longer feared the stealthy enemy who had been wont to sneak upon his cabin and violate his fireside. During this tranquil period the Zanes settled at Wheeling and were being surrounded by many families of energy and brawn from over the mountains. Michael Cresap was taking up lands in order to hold them for the inevitable rise in the price, for the settlers were growing numerous. At the same time Dr. John Conolly, by authority of Lord Dunmore, was commandant of Fort Dunmore, and he had appointed Cresap captain of the militia of the section in which he resided. Cresap was located below the Zane settlement, and he had a number of young men employed in improving the lands. Dr. Conolly was in constant communication with Lord Dunmore, who kept himself posted on the revolutionary movement, and when he refused protection to friendly Indians who were trading with the settlers, he did so to excite the savage against the whites. He not only did this; he heaped abuse upon the men who were outspoken as to issue of the impending troubles between the colonies and Britain; he threatened them with arrest and in some cases attempted to coerce with violent hands.

Dr. Conolly, commandant of Fort Dunmore, knew Michael Cresap as a Whig; he had taken sides with the colonists although holding a military commission signed by Governor Dunmore and Commandant Conolly, for this reason there was enmity between

them; but he also knew Cresap as a desperate man who hated the Indians so intensely that he loved the provocation that would give him opportunity and excuse to kill the savages. Cresap was the man he needed for a purpose. So early in the spring of 1774, when all the colonies were preparing for revolt, Conolly notified Cresap that a war with the Indians was inevitable; but the settlers saw no evidence of it. He wrote to Cresap that he was investigating; then he sent another letter to the effect that the war was on in all its fury, and advised Cresap to call out the troops under his command as captain and take up arms against the savage foe. Conolly knew well the temper of Cresap. He knew that the killing of a few Indians would inaugurate a war for revenge that would make the colonists forget their other troubles; and he knew that Cresap only needed an intimation to start him on an unrelentless war path and he being a Whig the blame could be laid to the insurgents and not to the crown.

As I have said the Indians at this time were engaged in friendly trade and were employed in carrying stores from Ft. Dunmore to traders along the Ohio, the Muskingum, the Scioto and the Kanawha, and they were unmolested. This is the evidence of contemporaries whose testimony was taken under oath afterward. The Indians and whites treated each other as neighbors and there seemed to be nothing to disturb the good fellowship then obtaining. Much progress was being made in settlements on the Ohio and other Virginia rivers.

Conolly was kept constantly informed of the mutterings against the crown in Virginia; and again sent Cresap word that his investigations revealed that the Indians were on the warpath and urged him to prepare for the conflict. The information in the letter spread like wildfire and the settlers became alarmed and rushed to the fortifications. Col. Crawford and George Rogers Clark could not stay the apprehension.

A canoe containing two Indians was reported on its way down the river from Ft. Dunmore. Cresap proposed to take a party up the river to kill the Indians in the canoe, but this was strenuously opposed by Col. Zane, he declaring that to slay the savages would be cold-blooded murder and that it would be followed by retaliation, but his counsel was not heeded and the

party went up the river, the Indians were met and killed. Michael Myers and Cresap were in the party and both afterward soldiers of the Revolution, the first being with Col. Crawford in his disastrous expedition to Sandusky. He lived to be 106 years of age and his bones lie buried in an old country church yard in Jefferson county. Near the same time, according to Withers and Butterfield, several canoes of Indians were discovered on the Ohio by Cresap and his men who drove them to the mouth of Pipe creek where the savages landed and a battle ensued, in which three of the Indians were killed, scalp d and their stores were taken. A few days after Michael Myers shot an Indian near Hollow Rock spring in Jefferson county, near where Myers afterward settled on land won as a Revolutionary soldier. This Indian was from Logan's camp which was a few miles east on a rise in the ground near the mouth of Yellow creek, the exact spot having been marked by the writer several years ago.

After the Pipe creek incident, according to George Rogers Clark, Cresap and his men formed a resolution to attack Logan's camp, but Clark remonstrated against such a movement as did also Col. Zane. Clark says that after the expedition stopped for refreshment it was proposed to take a vote and every person present including Cresap, opposed the projected massacre, all declaring that they were satisfied beyond doubt that Logan was in camp only as a hunting expedition without the least semblance of war. Clark further says that it was two days after this incident that Logan's people were killed at Baker's cabin, in Virginia, immediately opposite the mouth of Yellow Creek, but Clark and Cresap had moved on toward Redstone.

That horrible murder was viewed by the whole country as most atrocious. While he has been blamed even to this day Cresap had nothing to do with that crime; he was far away from the scene when it was committed. No doubt the letter he got from Conolly incited the murder, and that it was a part of the conspiracy of Conolly to blame Cresap in order to more assuredly incite the Indians against the Whigs. Logan did not know that Cresap was in the party, but Cresap's name was in Logan's speech after that speech was delivered to Gov.

Dunmore, although we have the testimony of Col. Gibson that he erased this name before the speech reached Dunmore. All that Cresap had to do with the crime against Logan and humanity was to circulate the letter from Conolly which incited the whites against the Indians, and it is possible that Daniel Greathouse and his party of settlers who inveigled Logan's people across the river to Baker's cabin, were influenced by that letter. Of Logan's own family his mother, a sister and a brother were killed, together with several of his tribe. It was a shameless and atrocious murder, as heartless in its manifest barbarity as any crime committed by the Indians in all their wars. It was the inciting cause of the awful carnival of carnage that followed.

Cresap always claimed that whatever blame that might attach to him for the killing of the two Indians on the then Jefferson county river front, belonged to his superior officer, Dr. Conolly, whose circular letter directed or authorized his conduct, and he was bound to obey or suffer the penalty for mutiny. Conolly was denounced for his actions by an indignation meeting held at Pittsburg, June 25, 1774, when it was set forth that he was the cause of "our present calamity and dread of an Indian war," Conolly's conduct was described as tyrannical and unprecedented.

There was such certainty of retaliation by the Indians and that a merciless war would soon be waged, that according to Valentine Crawford's statement, the settlers, who had located with full hope of abiding peace, immediately and spontaneously abandoned their new homes. The trails were swarmed with settlers returning to the East to the protection of the fortifications. Col. Crawford wrote to Washington on the 6th of May: "I am sorry to inform you that the disturbance between the white people and the Indians has prevented my going down the river. * * * It has ruined about all the settlers. There were more than one thousand people crossed the Monongahela in one day."

The wrath of Logan was too deep to assuage; the iron had pierced his soul, and his thirst was for blood. He wanted to be the friend of the white man and so he was, but the white man would not have it so continue. He was now for revenge; he would engage in the saturnalia of atrocity until his diabolical yearnings were satiated. He had no other joy, no other hope

than to retaliate, to murder and to torture, as his own people had been murdered and tortured. And a Christian nation conspired to set red devils on fire and turn them upon its own people; incited savages to deeds of crime, urging them on to actions so appalling, so awful, so cruel, that history does not record its parallel in the degree of barbarity.

The successive events which led up to the murder of Indians for no other purpose than to incite them to revenge, demonstrated that the British had crushed the influence of Christian civilization in their hearts in order that its place might be filled with a wicked spirit to coerce recalcitrant colonists to continue to wear the galling yoke of tyranny.

Lord Dunmore organized the flower of Virginia and of Pennsylvania to engage in battle with the savages. These men were brave; they were sympathetic and could not see their kindred murdered without making effort to defend them. It was known to Dunmore that they would enter the conflict and he further believed that before they were done they would have enough war to teach them its most excruciating terrors.

Gen. Andrew Lewis with 1,100 men marched through the Lower country to Point Pleasant. Col. Crawford and Major Angus McDonald early in July arrived at Wheeling, where Fort Fincastle was erected. This fort, too, became an important factor in the Revolutionary War, having withstood two awful sieges, neither of which have been made a part of the history written in the East, and yet the work done in those two conflicts aided greatly the American patriots, for the fury of the Indians was held at bay and permitted the frontiersmen to join Daniel Morgan's regiment of sharpshooters.

According to contemporary statements the information received by Dunmore from England while at Fort Fincastle encouraged the belief that insurrection of the American colonies was apparent and led him to waive the original plan of forming a junction with Lewis at Point Pleasant and it was this deviation that placed the brave Lewis and his intrepid army in jeopardy out of which only divine power could have carried him. The conduct of Dunmore at the treaty on the Congo in Pickaway county showed an understanding between Dunmore and the In-

dians. He had ordered Lewis to join him at the place of the treaty. While Lewis and his men were eager to wipe out the savage foe by continuing the onslaught commenced at Point Pleasant, Dunmore sent him back before the treaty was completed, which he would have been afraid to do without a well fixed purpose, for the Indian warriors were about him in sufficient numbers to have utterly destroyed his army. Before the battle Lewis sent scouts to ascertain the reason for Dunmore's delay in sending reinforcements, and although Dunmore was informed of Lewis' peril he refused to respond to the cry for help. Capt. Stewart notes in his narrative that he believed a spy, a friend of Dunmore's, was in Lewis' camp before the battle and that he carried information to the Indians.

Capt. Stewart informs us that Lewis had no contemptible enemy with which to deal; the Indian army was composed chiefly of the Shawanese that cut off the British army under Gen. Braddock in 1756; they were the Indians who defeated Major Grant and his Scotch Highlanders at Fort Duquesne in 1758 when the whole of his troops were either killed or taken prisoners. And after the battle of Point Pleasant they defeated the very flower of Virginia at the battle of Blue Licks in Kentucky. Afterward they defeated the United States army commanded by Harmer, and lastly defeated Gen. St. Clair's great army after prodigious slaughter.

It seems evident to me that it was for the great purpose afterward realized, that an All-wise Providence permitted and directed the issue of the battle of Point Pleasant to be victory for the American patriots. I believe that the issue of American independence was in that battle, for had Lewis and his intrepid soldiers been cut down because Lord Dunmore failed or refused to furnish reinforcements, the die would have been cast: A terrible Indian war would have followed, whose awful carnage would have been so appalling that the Americans would have halted in their demands upon England; they would have been so glad of crown help in the emergency that they would have forgotten the question of taxation without representation in the terrible conflict with the red savages.

The battle of Point Pleasant was more to the American cause than the mere victory of the day over the Indians; it trained men who were not inured to bloody conflict for the struggle that was inevitable. It tried the nerve and found it not lacking for Morgan's sharpshooters; it trained men for King's Mountain and for the Cowpens; it fitted soldiers for Morgan's march to Quebec; and the men who followed George Rogers Clark through the swamps on his conquest of the Illinois were from the same heroic mould, of the same blood, of the same training as the men at Point Pleasant; the conquest gave to America the empire which comprises five great states, the very heart of the Republic. The battle of Point Pleasant was not only the first decisive conflict of the Revolutionary War; had the issue been otherwise—had it turned as Dunmore expected and hoped it would turn, the people would have submitted, they would have acquiesced in the tyranny of the English crown.

From the battle of Point Pleasant came Gen. Andrew Lewis and Gen. Daniel Morgan. I may say that from that battle also came George Rogers Clark; he took no part in the battle, but was a scout with the Dunmore division of the army. These were three colossal figures in the Revolutionary War; Morgan's sharpshooters were organized almost immediately after the battle was fought, for on the way home Morgan learned of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia and he at once organized his men into a society sworn to do battle for freedom and independence, and after the surrender at Yorktown, Cornwallis said to Morgan that he commanded the most magnificent regiment in the world. Andrew Lewis won fame in the war, and when Washington was made Commander-in-Chief he insisted that Andrew Lewis was more capable for the trying position and urged that he be selected. And what of Clark? He fought all through the Revolution and his achievements were everything to the West. Had he failed in his conquest of the Illinois; had he failed in his efforts to dislodge the British hold on the Northwest Ohio today would be under the British flag. Had it not been for the steadfastness, the patriotism, the prowess of these three men developed at the battle of Point Pleasant, the results of the first

war for independence would have been greatly at variance with the desires of the American people.

[Authorities for the above article are: John J. Jacob's Biography of Michael Cresap; Olden Time—Monthly historical paper printed by Nevin B. Craig at Pittsburg, 1847; Statement of George Rogers Clark; Washington-Crawford Correspondence—Butterfield; Doddridge's Notes; Narrative of Capt. John Stewart; Pennsylvania Archives; McKiernan's Border History.—W. H. H.]

OHIO'S PART IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BY E. O. RANDALL.

[This article was the substance of a speech made by the author at the banquet of the Ohio Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, at the Hollenden Hotel, Cleveland, February 22, 1902.—Editor.]

It has been said that Belgium is the battleground of Europe. Ohio may then be called the Belgium of America. It is the great battlefield of the United States. For the Ohio Valley, of which Ohio may be regarded as the center, was the arena in the contest of centuries between the Latin and the Saxon races for the American stakes. The French, through their discoveries up the St. Lawrence, along the great lakes to the sources of the Mississippi, and thence down that great river course to the Gulf of Mexico, claimed the tributaries of those waterways, including the territory east of the Mississippi and south of the chain of lakes, except that strip settled by the English colonies along the Atlantic coast, and reaching back to the Allegheny mountains. The English, by their right of discovery and settlement and through their royal charters and patents, claimed the extension of their rights west from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and even on beyond to the "unknown" sea.

It was at Logstown, some twenty miles below the site of Pittsburg, 1753, when the first great conference was held between the three rival races. The Indian, the native savage, represented by Half King, chief of the Iroquois; St. Pierre, representing the French, and he whose name we celebrate tonight, George

Washington, representing the English. The French claimed the territory, as we have seen, by the right of discovery and partial settlement; the English by right of extension of their undisputed colonies; the Indian by the original title of primeval occupation. There was no alternative but war, and Braddock's defeat a few years later was the opening event of that series of historic campaigns known as the French and Indian war, lasting seven years, until 1763. That war was decided in that dramatic encounter on the heights of Abraham at Quebec, in which the invincible Wolf led the British and the intrepid Montcalm the French. Both leaders died upon the field of battle, but its gauge was to the Saxon; and by the treaty of Paris which followed, France yielded to England all the territory she protested had been her possessions in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys east and south. The territory west of the Mississippi was ceded to Spain, thereafter known as the Louisiana territory, and given to Spain in lieu of her Florida and Mexican Gulf domain, which Spain in turn ceded to England. And now the English flag waved over Ohio soil, where before for a century and a half the French flag had floated. The colonies had fought the French war with the understanding that they were to be, in case of victory, its beneficiaries and be permitted to occupy the Ohio Valley as a rich and valuable extension to their Atlantic coast lodgments. Our forefathers, even our revolutionary sires, were expansionists. But the war over, and Britain triumphant, she seized the territory west of the Alleghenies in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys as the exclusive dominion of the crown. She made it an Indian reservation, forbade the colonists to settle thereon, even forbidding pioneers of the east and south to make settlements except under licenses and restrictions so great and excessive as to amount almost to a prohibition.

This was the situation until the year 1774, when the promulgation of the Quebec act, practically renewing and enforcing the exclusive policy of the crown, aroused the indignation of the colonists to such a degree that they began to protest, and it was one of the chief causes of the declaration of independence. The Earl of Dunmore was royal governor of Virginia. Virginia claimed her strip of this reservation to the Mississippi, includ-

ing what would now be the southern half of Ohio. He resolved to take up arms against the domination of the crown.* It was the first overt defiance of the Quebec promulgation. True, Ohio was then occupied mostly by Indians who were the subsidized allies of the English and who were fighting equally with England for the exclusion of the colonies from this territory that they (the Indians) might preserve their hunting grounds and homes. Governor Dunmore raised an army of 3,000 and separated it into two divisions of 1,500 each, one of which divisions he took with him to Pittsburg, and there on flatboats floated down the Ohio to the mouth of the Hockhocking river, where he built a stockade called Fort Gower. He then proceeded to the interior of the state and encamped below the present site of Chillicothe. The other division of these Virginia frontiersmen was under the command of General Andrew Lewis. He marched to the mouth of the Kanawha river intending to cross the Ohio, but before doing so was met at Point Pleasant by the famous Indian chief, Cornstalk, accompanied by other famous chiefs, including Tecumseh's father, with some 2,000 braves. A most desperate and determined battle was fought in which the Indians were signally defeated.

That battle was an unique event in border warfare. It was solely an American victory. The whites under Lewis were not British soldiers, not even were they organized colonial militia. They were "minute men" from the river banks and hillsides of Virginia's interior. They were backwoodsmen in buckskin and homespun, settlers cradled and reared in the privations and hardships of pioneer life. The enemy was the cruel red man uncommanded and unattended by British or French allies. There

[*It is not suggested, much less claimed, that Dunmore took up rebellious arms against his government in favor of the independence of the Virginia colony or the other colonies. His expedition, however, was in violation of the British provincial dictation and in behalf of the extension of Virginian dominion into excluded territory. That his purpose was a double-faced one, namely to arouse the red men against the colonists and thus intimidate the latter is not here referred to. For that view of Dunmore's War see the excellent article by Mr. Hunter in another part of this publication.—E. O. R.]

were in that opposing force only chosen Indian braves officered by skilled and crafty chiefs

That was the first battle of the revolution, fought on October 10, 1774, six months before the shot was fired at Lexington that "echoed around the world." It was the first blow for American freedom, struck on the banks of the Ohio, by Virginia frontiersmen. Lewis and his troops proceeded to join Dunmore when a treaty with the Indians was secured and the entire army began their march home by way of Hockhocking. On arriving at Fort Gower this Virginia army for the first time received the news of the assembling of the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia and the officers of the army held a meeting and passed a resolution to the effect, after complimenting the success of their general, that they professed allegiance to the king and crown, but added that "their devotion would only last while the king deigned to reign over a free people, for their love of liberty for America outweighed all other considerations, and they would exert every power for its defense when called forth by the voice of their countrymen." This was the first declaration of independence, declared by Virginia volunteers at the mouth of the Hockhocking on that soil that was subsequently to be consecrated as the great state of Ohio.

The war of the revolution was now on. It waged gloriously and courageously along the New England coast, but no less potently and mercilessly in the Ohio Valley and along the streams and hillsides of (to be) Ohio commonwealth.

The scattered settlers of the Ohio Valley had more at stake than the New England colonists, for the colonists in New England were assured of an English government, but the destiny of the Ohio valley might fall—probably would—into the hands of a foreign nation, either France or Spain, the latter of which held untold territory immediately west of the Mississippi. It was the British policy to fight the colonists at the front through hired Hessians. It was also the British policy to attack and harass the colonists in the rear of the rebelling states by employing the tomahawk and the scalping knife of the Indian. Ohio, immediately adjacent to the frontier lines of Pennsylvania and Virginia, became the scene of constant Indian and English warfare to the

year 1783. There were many brilliant campaigns worthy the pen of the most graphic and imaginative historian. The expeditions, for instance, three in number, of George Rogers Clark, who at the instigation of Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, with Kentucky and Virginia troops, proceeded down the Ohio and then marched northeast through what was subsequently Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, taking the settlements of Kaskaskia, Vincennes and Cahokia and destroying the Indian villages in the interior of our present state. The years 1780 and 1782 were memorable for the most bloody campaigns. The second daring expedition of Clark was almost simultaneous with the historic expeditions of Crawford from the east toward Detroit. The last expedition in 1782 of George Rogers Clark was one from Kentucky north into the interior, attacking the Indians at Piqua, Xenia, Chillicothe and elsewhere with a regiment of a thousand valiant frontiersmen. They were a veritable band of Rough Riders, and the annals of history present no deeds more daring, more brave, more patriotic, more adventurous than the incidents of that campaign; it was to the revolution what Sherman's march to the sea was to the rebellion. Clark's last expedition broke the backbone of the revolution. It saved the Northwest to the colonies.

The revolution was over for New England colonies in 1783, but not so for the inhabitants of Ohio Valley. The English refused to yield possession of many British posts along the lake shores and particularly at Erie, Sandusky, the mouth of the Maumee, at Detroit and other places. It was the policy of England to retain those posts and from them send out incursions with Indian allies to continue a guerrilla warfare against the colonial settlements. The British, especially their agents in America. hoped, and indeed expected, the attempted independence of the colonies would prove a failure and dependence come again. The famous ordinance of 1787 established and opened up the Northwest Territory and our revolutionary sires left their New England homes and sought new abodes in the West. The Ohio Company came down the "beautiful river," as the French called it, in that second Mayflower in 1788. You easily recall the warfare that was then renewed by the British and the Indians to repel the colonial settlements in the southern, central and subsequently in the

northern portions of our state. There were the expeditions of Harmar (1789), his defeat; of St. Clair (1791), his defeat on the site of Fort Recovery, in which battle his loss was 600 killed, and 250 wounded, and some two or three hundred lost or missing, a total loss equal to the greatest loss suffered by the colonists in the Revolution, the loss of Washington at the defeat of Germantown. Then followed that brilliant campaign of Anthony Wayne in 1794; his marching with 5,000 intrepid soldiers from Fort Washington north to the Maumee, and his famous victory on that August day at Fallen Timbers, when he signally routed the Canadian troops with their Indian allies under Little Turtle and Tecumseh.

That was the real close of the Revolution, and it ended in Ohio, on whose soil it had begun twenty years before at the battle of Point Pleasant between Cornstalk and Lewis.

The truth of history is that there was more of the revolution on Ohio soil than there was on the soil of many of the New England states. It lasted here a score of years, three times as long as was suffered by the more pretentious settlements in the Atlantic states. For instance, Connecticut saw no such warfare. There was no campaign, not even a battle of note upon the soil of Connecticut, yet from the standard histories you would scarcely imagine that there were any "doings" of importance in those famous years west of the Allegheny mountains. The history of the United States has not yet been written. When it is written, it will be written by a Western man with the Ohio valley as his point of view.

Ohio, therefore, it is seen, it a great factor in the revolution. She always rises to the emergency. She cannot even be lost nor ignored in the days of our revolutionary sires.

MOBBING THE SHAKERS OF UNION VILLAGE.

J. P. MACLEAN, PH. D.

It may be affirmed that of all the Christian sects of America, not one is less aggressive or lives more within itself than that known as The Shakers, or more properly speaking The Millennial Church. It is true that in its early history it possessed a little missionary zeal, but this was not of the offensive kind. In common with all the sects it placed its own doctrines to the front, proclaiming them to be the true representative ideas of Jesus Christ. It cannot be denied that the Shakers indulged in extravagant expressions of religious emotions, and were excessively strict in their discipline; but this was all within themselves, for they did not encroach upon their neighbors. Towards the strangers and co-religionists they were harmless, kind and considerate.

It is worthy of remark in this age of endowments or special benefactions, the Shakers have never received any donations or gifts save those which have come from within their own communion. In proportion to the number and wealth, no sect has been so generous. In all probability no sect has lived so closely to the Christ ideal as that under consideration.

When it is considered that a sect free from trespass, given to good works, benevolent and devout, refraining from the turmoils of political strife and the carnage and inhumanity of war, should be subject to the passions of a mob, it behooves one, having optimistic views, to inquire into the source or controlling motive that led to the public violence. It is the history of every Shaker community to experience rough treatment even at the hands of those who should have been respecters of law and order.

ORIGIN OF THE MOB OF 1810.

Religious hate and rancor have been the source of untold misery. Even in the light and discoveries of this age, only a small portion of the enlightened have been brought to the realizing sense that every man must be supreme within himself re-

specting his tenets. It does not require wide observation to note the fact that even those claiming to be most liberal, and really having broad views, are too often the most illiberal. Numerous instances can be produced to prove that many liberals are even more illiberal than the dogmatist and the bigot. Such may be shown to be the case in the persecution of the Shakers of Union Village, Ohio.

The origin of the various communities of Shakers of Ohio and Kentucky may be directly traced to the "Great Kentucky Revival" of 1800, 1801. This was the greatest religious upheaval ever known in America; and the conditions were such as to make it impossible to have the same ever repeated. The causes that led to the commotion and insured its success were manifold. The cry for a broader basis, or more toleration, was not among the least. While the exictement lasted there was a display of emotions, an extravagance of expression or manners, that beggars all description. Among the leaders there were really able men; who during the revel were unfortunately overcome by the pressure and gave countenance to transactions that, in their cooler moments, would meet with their condemnation. The outbreak began in Logan and Christian counties, Kentucky, on the waters of the Gasper and Red Rivers. The first meeting was held at Cabin Creek, May 22, 1800, and continued four days and three nights. "The scene was awful beyond description; the falling, crying out, praying, exhorting, singing, shouting, etc., exhibited such new, and striking evidences of a supernatural power, that few, if any, could escape without being affected. Such as tried to run from it were frequently struck on the way, or impelled, by some alarming signal to return." Among the prime movers were such men as Malcolm Worley, John Dunlavy, Richard McNemar, Robert Marshall, John Thompson, David Purviance, Barton W. Stone, etc. Before the year 1805 the Schismatics had regular societies in Ohio at Turtle Creek, Eagle Creek, Springfield, Orangedale, Salem, Beaver Creek, Clear Creek, etc. In Kentucky at Cabin Creek, Flemingsburgh, Concord, Caneridge, Indian Creek, Bethel, Paint Creek, Shawny Run, etc., besides an innumerable multitude scat-

tered throughout Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, and the western parts of Pennsylvania. These Schismatics were known then, and are still called by the name of New Lights, but among themselves they take the name of Christians. Their recognized leader was Barton W. Stone.

The news of the Revival spread all over the country and in due time aroused the interest of the Shaker Ministry at New Lebanon, New York, who dispatched John Meacham, Issachar Bates and Benjamin Seth Youngs to the scene of the commotion. These missionaries set out on foot on January 1st, 1805, and arrived at Turtle Creek Church (Union Village) on March 22nd, as a propaganda. The first convert from the Turtle Creek Church was Malcolm Worley, on March 27, a wealthy and influential man, but somewhat eccentric. The next was Anna Middleton (colored), March 29, and on the 31st, Cornelius Campbell. Richard McNemar and his wife Jenny joined on April 24. In the year 1805, or soon after, the families or heads of families that joined the Shakers, besides those already mentioned, were Francis Bedle, Samuel Sering, Samuel Holloway, Elijah Davis, Jonathan Davis, Stephen Spining, David Spining, John Dennis, Abner Bonnell, Stephen Williams, Benjamin Howard, Amos Valentine, John Miller, Joseph Stout, James Bedell, David Hill, Calvin Morrell, Joseph Patterson, John Wallace, John Able, Samuel Rollins, Thomas Hunt, Charles West, Allen Woodruff, Moses Easton, David Corey, Daniel Boyd, Lorenzo Belcher, John Gee, David Johnson, John Sharp, Matthew Houston, Andrew Brown, John Naylor, John Carson, Belteshazzar Draggoo, John Houston, Robert Baxter, James Dickson, Joseph Irwin, Nathan Pegg, John Woods, James Smith, Garner McNemar, William Davis, Sr., Abigail Kitchell, Malinda Watts, Jenny Byrne, Rachel Seward, Betsy Anderson, Reuben Morris, Jacob Holloway, Caleb Pegg, John Slater, Jonathan Gaudy, Joseph Lockwood, Thomas N. Naylor, William Runyon, and some others. To these there must be added about thirty unmarried.

It is safe to assume that the greater percentage of these, as well as those who soon after followed (numbering in all prior to 1812, 370 souls) was converted from the New Lights.

Add to this the fact that Shaker missionaries were sent among the New Light Churches, and, in the vicinity of some, Shaker communities were being established, it may easily be seen that all the venom of religious hate would be stirred up among the New Lights, however much they may have called for more freedom. The heart of Barton Stone was stirred within him, and he with some of his coadjutors set about to put down Shakerism.

It is not intended here to have it inferred that Barton Stone desired violent means against the Shakers. His intentions may have been of the more peaceful order. However that may be he certainly paved the way that the thoughtless and violent might pass over.

The leaders of the Schismatics must be judged in the light in which they taught. Revolting against dogmatism they became dogmatists; proclaiming religious liberty they became persecutors, and decrying a written creed they became advocates of "a system of theology." The first words against the Shakers did not come from any of the members of the Turtle Creek Church, but from Springfield, and under date of April 5, 1805: "It matters not to me who they are, who are devil's tools, whether men or angels, good men or bad. In the strength of God I mean not to spare. I used lenity once to the devil, because he came in a good man (viz.) Worley. But my God respects no man's person. I would they were even cut off who trouble you. I mean in the name and strength of God to lift his rod of Almighty truth against the viper," etc. Thompson followed the Shakers to a campmeeting held at Turtle Creek, and in a loud voice proclaimed, "They are liars! They are liars! They are liars! According to the fable, 'A liar is not to be believed, even when he speaks the truth.'" Another Christian followed Issachar Bates, crying out, "Go to hell," and another pursued John Meacham from place to place, spitting in his face, and crying aloud to make a great fire, and burn these false prophets, while others laughed and encouraged him. Stone having invited McNemar to attend a general meeting at Concord in August, 1805, forbade him to speak or even come in the house. At the same time silence was imposed on John Dun-

lavy, Benjamin Youngs and Malcolm Worley, while John Thompson, Robert Marshall, Barton W. Stone, David Purviance, J. Stockwell and A. Brannon, alternately delivered addresses against the Shakers, in which some of them were named out, pronounced liars, defamed by many slanderous reports, which they could have proven false if opportunity had been given. The only reply given was, "I am sorry to see you abusing your own light." In the introduction to his "Letters on Atonement" Stone observes that the arguments used by his opponents are "Bold, inscriptural assertions — hard names — delusion — error — doctrines of devils — Arminianism — Socinianism — Deism, etc. Such arguments have no effect on a candid mind, but they powerfully influence dupes and bigots. The candid look for truth and plain, unequivocal arguments." In the postscript of his reply to Campbell's strictures, he says: "You have heard no doubt before this time, of the lamentable departure of two of our preachers, and a few of their hearers from the true gospel, into wild enthusiasm, or Shakerism. They have made shipwreck of faith, and turned aside to an old woman's fables, who broached them in New England, about twenty-five years ago. These wolves in sheep's clothing, have smelt us from afar, and have come to tear, rend and devour," etc. It was currently reported among the New Lights "that the Shakers castrated all their males, and consequently exposed their necks to the gallows; or divested of all modesty, stripped and danced naked in their night meetings, blew out the candles, and went into a promiscuous debauch. And what was still more shocking — the fruits of their unlawful embraces they concealed by the horrid crime of murder." It was charged that "these men say that each one of them is a Christ, and we must throw our Bibles away and follow them; they forbid to marry, and attach criminality to that for which we have the express command of God; they encourage men to beat and abuse their wives, and turn them away; they are a set of worldly-minded, cunning deceivers, whose religion is earthly, sensual, and devilish (see Stone's Letter, July 1806); these men have testified they would never die." Even the grave was robbed of its sanctity, and the word went forth that Prudence Farrington had recanted Shakerism on her death

bed. She arrived at Union Village May 31, 1806, and died April 11, 1807, in the 31st year of her age, a loving sister, a blessed virgin, a holy woman. Among her last words she uttered: "Strengthen the brethren."

"Her holy examples of infinite price:
Brought up in the gospel, a stranger to vice;
Her cross from the first she did faithfully bear,
And finish'd her course in her thirty-first year:
Her heaven-born spirit, to angels akin,
(Not stain'd with the flesh nor polluted with sin)
Has now got releas'd from the sorrows of earth,
And shares the full joys of her heavenly birth."

There is another factor too important to overlook. Every community has a few restless spirits ever ready to take up with the latest fad or doctrine. Such an upheavel as the Kentucky Revival would throw all sorts of humanity to the surface, many of whom would be left stranded on the shoals of uncertainty. Many of these would be taken with Shakerism, but only to leave and then vilify those who had trusted them. They would circulate reports having no foundation, but tending to excite the lawless or vicious. Taking all things into consideration, it is not surprising that a mob might be incited.

NARRATIVE OF THE MOB OF 1810.

The first mob that assembled at Union Village was on Monday, August 27, 1810. The mob consisted of a body of five hundred armed men, led by officers in military array, preceded and followed by a large concourse of spectators of all descriptions of people, estimated at nearly two thousand in number, whose object was to witness a conflict between the military and a few harmless and defenceless Shakers. Among this great concourse were many who were friendly to the Society, and whose only wish was to prevent mischief and preserve peace; but the far greater number was either entire strangers or decided enemies, who came to support the military in case of necessity. Many of these were armed in mob array, some with

guns and swords, some with bayonets fixed on poles or sticks of various lengths, and other with staves, hatchets, knives and clubs. These formed a motley multitude of every description, from ragged boys to hoary-headed men, exhibiting altogether a hideous and grotesque appearance. This ruthless assemblage, gathered for the purpose of infringing on the rights of conscience, and in the public press of the day was called "An expedition against the Shakers."

This extraordinary proceeding first began to be agitated principally through the instrumentality of one John Davis, John and Robert Wilson and John Bedle, apostates, who had become bold in wickedness and false accusations against their former co-religionists, whereby those who had long waited for false witnesses to accuse the Shakers of something criminal seized the opportunity to accomplish their purpose.

Accordingly, about the first of June, Col. James Smith inserted in the public press a declaration that he had been informed by the aforesaid apostates that the education of children among the Shakers was chiefly a pretense; that they whip their underlings severely, and also their children; that they count it no sin to have carnal knowledge of their own women; that all surplus money and property are given up to Elder David Darrow; that he keeps the whole treasury of the Society in his own hands; that he, like the pope, exercises unlimited authority over all under his control; and that he, with his council, live sumptuously on the labors of others; with many other things of a like nature, all of which were made to exasperate the public mind with indignation against the Believers.

What seemed intended to be the weightiest charges in the publication were certain things therein alleged against James Smith, Jr., who was a Believer, and for which there was a plausible pretense. James' wife, Polly, having deserted him on account of his faith, and he refusing to give up his children to her, furnished the old man with many charges of oppression.

The advertisement of Col. Smith did not go unchallenged, but was answered publicly in a spirited manner by Richard McNemar, who not only exposed its falsity, but also cited its author to prove what he had alleged, or else bear the character of a

slanderer. The answer was little regarded, and it appears that Smith and his associates had no intention of prosecuting the matter in a lawful manner.

During the month of July the Shakers were secretly informed that a subscription was being circulated for the purpose of raising a mob and that John Davis and the two Wilsons were active agents. Having been publicly accused of the matter they denied that there was any such thing in agitation. On August 23, an intimation was given that Col. Smith, with a number of men from Kentucky, were over and engaged in collecting others to assist in carrying off his grandchildren. On the next day, Friday, it was learned from credible authority that five hundred men were to assemble on the following Monday at Capt. Kilbreath's, distant about three miles, and intended to come as a mob and take off the Smith children and enact other outrages. The next day the news became more definite, and in the afternoon Wade Loofbourrow, a young man living near Hamilton, informed them that he had seen the written instrument which the designing party had signed, but did not read it; that it was in the hands of Major J. Potter at Hamilton Court the day before; that the mob was a subject of common conversation on that occasion; that he heard Major Potter say that five hundred were subscribed; also, that Rev. Matthew G. Wallace was forward and active in the business; that Major Potter would be second in command; that the Springfield Light-Horse would be on the ground and many more of the baser sort from Springfield, the Big Hill, from around Hamilton and from the vicinity northwest of the village; that the party would appear on Monday; and that he came purposely to inform them and desired to tarry that he might witness the result. The same evening information came in from every quarter of their preparations and threats of abuse; that they meant to tar and feather Richard McNemar and drive the old Shakers out of the country and restore the rest to their former faith and method of living.

The following Sunday (August 26) some of the party attended the religious services, especially Captain Robinson, who avowed that they would be on the ground the next day for the purpose of violence.

The State's Attorney, J. Collet, and the Sheriff of the county, T. McCray, both of Lebanon, went to the place of rendezvous and warned the party of the unlawfulness of their intentions. Attending the Sunday services were Dr. Budd and Dr. Bladgley, of New Jersey; Colonel Stanley, from Cincinnati, and D. Corneal, a noted young man from Kentucky. They determined to return the next day and witness the event.

Early Monday morning, August 27, all the Shakers of Union Village might have been seen at their usual avocations, just as though no note of warning had been received. About 8 o'clock strangers began to come in from different quarters. Early on the ground was Francis Dunlavy, first Circuit Judge of the State, intending that the peace and dignity of the law should be upheld. Dr. Bladgley, with some company who had rode out to meet the mob, returned at noon with the information that the troops would arrive in less than an hour. About 1 o'clock the troops appeared, entering by the Dayton road from the north, marching in order and finally halted in front of the Meeting House. A number of the officers were in uniform and the troops armed and generally equipped in regimental order.

The peace-loving men were active with the troops and the undisciplined multitude. It is more than probable that through their intercession the expedient was reached of choosing a committee to state to the Shakers their proposals and to receive and return answers. A committee came forward and faced the dwelling house of the old Believers. They requested three of the original men (meaning John Meacham, Benjamin S. Youngs and Issachar Bates) to come forward in order to confer with them on the occasion of the people's assembling, observing that a committee was chosen for that purpose, consisting of twelve men then present, among whom was one chief speaker. As only Benjamin S. Youngs of the three called was present, assent was given that two others might be called. Standing in the yard at that time were Judge Dunlavy, General William Schenck and J. Corwin. As the mob's committee contained twelve persons the Shakers desired that these three gentlemen might be permitted to act with them, but this request was denied. Judge Dunlavy then asked, "Have you any objections to by-standers?"

They answered, "Yes." It was insisted that the three Shakers should go alone with them to the woods. Unreasonable as the demands were the Shakers consented. Benjamin S. Youngs, Peter Pease and Matthew Houston withdrew with the committee to a woodland lying about sixty rods south of the dwelling house and half a mile south of the Meeting House.

The leading characters of the committee were Matthew G. Wallace, a noted Presbyterian preacher, chief speaker; Doctor Squire Little, a Newlight; Captain John Clark, and John Fisher. The names of the others have not been preserved. Wallace began in the name of the people to state their grievances, observing that the Shaker principles and practices had caused great disturbances in the minds of the people and led to the extinction of civil and religious society, which they are determined to uphold; that their system was a pecuniary one and led mankind into bondage and oppression; and that the people were determined to bear it no longer. The committee insinuated that they were in a capacity to prevent evil being done and perhaps prevent much blood being shed, because as the people were fully resolved on a redress, provided the terms were complied with, that were proposed. After speaking *in extenso*, in this matter for some time, the following conditions were the only ones that would be accepted, and which would prevent forcing a compliance by violent measures:

1. The children of the late James Watts should be given up to their grandfather; it being alleged that the said James Watts, at his decease, gave his children to his father. It was hoped that the propriety of this would readily be seen.

To this the Shakers answered: "We had not seen the propriety hitherto, as we supposed the mother, under whose care the children now were, had the greatest right to them; and asked them if it was recorded, that the said James gave his children to their grandfather? They answered that it was not. We told them that we could not give up that which was not in our possession. The children were with their mother, and under her care, and we exercised no authority over them. We were sure that the mother and children might be seen by any two or three civil men, and if the parent was willing, and the children

wished to go, it was not our wish to have them retained; nor if any demanded them, and chose to force them away, would any violence be used to prevent them."

2. That old William Bedle be permitted to see his grandchild, a son of Elijah Davis, alleging that the said child came away (from his father) and was forcibly brought back contrary to his inclination.

To this it was replied: "That the child was under the care of his own parents; that we had not any control over him; that we did not usurp the parents' rights over their children, but we doubted not that the child might be seen," etc., etc.

3. That the children of James Smith should be given up. To this the observation was offered that the Shakers were doubtless well acquainted with the circumstances relative to these children.

To this the information was offered: "That the children were under the care of their father; that they were now in the hands of the authority, and that a suit in court had commenced respecting them."

4. In presenting the next demand the speaker observed that it probably might seem hard, and then declared that the weightiest proposition was, that the Shakers must cease publicly to inculcate their principles, and their practices must cease; that no dancing on the Sabbath or any other day should be permitted; or else all should depart from the country by the first Monday in December next.

This demand was tantamount to a renunciation of faith and practice, mode of worship, preaching and manner of living.

These terms were a declaration that if acceded to all would be well; and if not they should be enforced by violence. It was requested that these propositions should be reduced to writing, but Wallace stated that what had been proposed was short and could easily be remembered without writing. The reply was made that as the proposals were short they could readily be committed to writing, but the point was abruptly refused.

It is worthy of mention that although the committee had solemnly agreed not to admit or suffer any of the party near them while they conferred together, yet during the conference

there was present a number of false witnesses and accusers standing by, particularly the apostate John Davis, who brought false accusations. Again and again the Shakers asked the committee if their replies were understood, and every time the answer came in the affirmative; but still the Shakers were urged to comply, for it was impossible for them to resist a thousand men.

At 2 o'clock the conference adjourned for one hour, that the Shakers might in that time give a positive answer. All the elder brethren and sisters there present were assembled together in an upper room of the residence near the Meeting House. Judge Dunlavy, General Schenck and Squire Corwin were invited to take part in the consultation. In their presence the committee of Shakers stated the proposals and demands and the answers agreed upon, with the observation that the requirements were unreasonable and unjust, particularly because no person was allowed to be present at the conference who might serve as a witness against the unlawfulness or injustice of their demands; and also of the unreasonableness of grandfathers demanding to be given up to them their grandchildren who were under the care of their own parents. The three invited guests took no part in the meeting, but appeared to be much affected and feelingly interested in the cause of justice. When the meeting ended Judge Dunlavy and General Schenck went out and found Dr. Little, one of the committee, in the yard before the house, and talked to him in an affecting manner on the illegality and consequences of the concourse of people.

The hour having expired Benjamin S. Youngs informed Dr. Little that they were ready to meet them, and accordingly both committees retired to the same place in the woods, and there delivered the following answer:

"1. Respecting the children demanded to be given up, we observed, that we had already stated what we had to say on that subject; adding, that all adults among us were free, and that it was contrary to our principles and our practice to oppress any, or hold them in bondage.

2. Respecting our faith which we held in the gospel, we esteemed it dearer than our lives, and therefore meant to maintain it, whatever we might suffer as the consequence. And as

to our leaving the country, we were on our own possessions which we had purchased with money obtained by our own honest industry. It was our endeavor not to owe any man anything; we had not a cent of any man's money; we enjoyed our own peaceable possessions in a free country, and were entitled to those liberties (including the liberty of our consciences) which the laws of our country granted us."

In the course of the first sitting of the committee the Shakers observed that things were misrepresented and wrongly reported concerning them; that there was no evidence of the existence of those things of which they were accused, and that the reports came from prejudiced persons; that there was no need of all this concourse of people; if wrong had been done in any matter the laws of the country made ample provision for a redress of grievances. To all this Wallace replied that the means required too lengthy a process, and that the people would not wait the issue of such measures. It was necessary to rehearse some of these facts during the sitting of the second conference.

While these proceedings were transpiring, about the Meeting House, the school house, the children's family, and the first family of young Believers, there was a vast and promiscuous concourse of armed men and spectators, some disputing, some inquiring, others railing out against and endeavoring to scatter falsehood, and urging the propriety of banishing the Shakers out of the country by violence. Women of the baser sort, who were in fellowship with the riot, had placed themselves within sight of the buildings, on the edge of the woods, waiting to see the Shakers destroyed; others, of the same cast, were taking an active part in urging on parties of the mob to take away, by force, children of their connections, and other such like acts of violence. In the meantime there were men of talents and good principles who engaged in contesting those violent measures agitated by the mob party, urging the Shakers' right of citizenship from their peaceable deportment, and the unconstitutionality of infringing upon their right, which had never been forfeited by any misconduct.

About three o'clock, a public speaker of the party, standing in the street before the door of the Meeting House, proclaimed liberty, that all who had any charges against the Shakers might

come forward and enter them. A number of charges were produced; but none however that was regularly entered and taken up, except a charge of murder against Amos Valentine, upon the assertion of John and Robert Wilson, two of the before mentioned apostates, who deposed, that when they lived among the Shakers, the said Amos had a boy afflicted with fits; that he whipped said boy unmercifully; also, that the said boy was whipped by Daniel Moseley, and that the said Amos and Daniel both wished that he was dead; that the boy for some time past had been missing, and the said witnesses believed that the said boy was murdered, and put out of the way. A habeas corpus was immediately served on Amos and he was put under arrest until the the said boy should be produced. The boy was immediately sent for, being at Moses Easton's, about two miles off. About this period of the transaction, the committee was holding its second session, with the three Shakers before mentioned. Judge Dunlavy, who understood the proceedings of the committee before, followed them to the edge of the woods, and there sat down upon a log, about five rods distant from where the committee was sitting, and there waited to see the issue. Immediately after the Shakers withdrew from the committee, he mounted his horse, in the midst of the assembly, and, with a loud voice, delivered a solemn injunction, that no one violate the laws of Ohio, and required all civil officers present to take cognizance of the conduct of any who should violate them. Soon after this, the aforesaid boy arrived, very corpulent and hearty. This was about four o'clock. Judge Dunlavy, understanding the case, gave public information of the boy's arrival, and the satisfaction which was given of the innocence of the party accused, ordered the prisoner to be released, and the people to disperse, as nothing remained for investigation. Nevertheless Capt. Kilbreath refused to comply with the judge's order to release the prisoner, alledging that he was just as high an officer as Dunlavy. Upon this Judge Dunlavy ordered him to be apprehended, and put in prison; but Kilbreath being armed with a sword and pistol, and refusing to be taken, the matter there rested. The prisoner, however, was released; but some of the mob treated the judge with great contempt, and uttered the

most bitter invectives against him for his interference. At this stage of the proceedings, the committee having returned and mingled among the multitude; Judge Dunlavy having given his orders, the mob was thus irritated and thrown into confusion. But the word of command being given, and the party mounted, they moved down the street in a violent career, amid clouds of dust, and halted in a vast crowd facing the dwelling house of the Elders; and after a little pause, Major Robinson, with a loud voice, demanded of those in the house whether they would comply with the proposals of the committee, Yea, or Nay. This was repeated a number of times, crying aloud, "Give us an answer, Yea, or Nay!" but no one answered a word. Then all the people in the house, men and women, young and old, were commanded to come out of the house, and place themselves in a circle on the green before them. But none offered to move.

Then Major Robinson continued his harangue to the following effect: that the Shakers must comply immediately with the proposals of the committee, and accede to remove out of the country by the first of December next, to suffer the consequences; and then cried, "Is not this the voice of the people?" which was immediately answered by the mob with uplifted hands, and a general loud and hideous yell, in the most exasperated manner. But as none appeared or answered, they ordered the gates to be thrown open, which, after considerable hesitation, some of the concourse ventured to perform. The doors of the house were now instantly shut and fastened, as hitherto they had been left open. After the gates were thrown open, the house was immediately surrounded by a promiscuous multitude of armed men and spectators, but the main body of the corps remained on their horses in the street. After some consultation among the mob, they proposed a committee from among them, whom they wished to enter and search every apartment of the house, to see whether there were not some held in bondage, and such other like instances of cruelty and injustice as were reported. This committee consisted of Major William Robinson, Captain John Robinson, Captain John Clark, Captain Cornelius Thomas, and one or two others. They entered upon conditions of behaving civily, and began their search and exam-

ination with the young sisters, and asked them, one by one, if they desired to leave the Shakers.

To the question of the mob committee Betsey Seward replied, that she was satisfied with the people, and her present place of abode; that she liked it better than among her natural relations; because they treated her more kindly than ever her own relations had done, and that she did not wish to see any of them again, while they remained so wicked. The committee then said, "Let her stay." Prudence Morrell being interrogated, replied, that all the world would be no inducement to her to leave; that she preferred to place her head on the floor and be decapitated than to be taken away from the Believers. Caty Rubart also made a firm reply, in substance as above; and so did Jenny McNemar, and all the rest,—all declaring that they were free to go away, if they chose, at any time, and that nothing bound them but their faith and love. All others, whether brethren or sisters, made the similar replies.

After searching every apartment of the house the committee expressed their satisfaction. Captain Thomas, more upright than the others, said he saw a "decent house with decent people in it." Then they drank copiously of cold coffee, went out, and reported themselves as "well satisfied." After this, they returned to their former ground at the Meeting House, and the same committee proceeded to examine the family of the young Believers. All who were interrogated, made firm replies, that they were free, and might go away whenever they chose, but would not; some said they would rather die, than abandon their faith, or forsake the people of God. By this time the committee was under great mortification, and their zeal began to abate, having been disappointed in all their researches, and some persuasion had to be used in order to get them into the school house. Matthew Houston being present at their examinations, desired them to go, especially, as they had it reported that the Shakers would not suffer their children and youth to read the Bible. When they went into the school they found Testaments in abundance. Elder Houston observed they might see at least one lie had been told them. They looked at the children's penmanship, which they acknowledged surpassed their

expectations. Houston next requested them to ask the children questions, whether they had enough to eat, etc., observing, that he had children among them, and had long been absent, and knew not at present how it might be with them. When they asked, First: "Have you enough to eat?" they answered, "Yea! yea! yea! as much as we want," which ran all through the school. Second: "Are you punished more than you deserve?" They answered, "Nay! nay! nay," and some replied, "We are never whipped." Third: "Do you want to leave these people? If you do, fear not, we will protect you." "Nay! nay! nay! sounded through the school. Next the committee was invited to hear the children read, but this was declined, declaring they were fully satisfied. Next they were requested to go to John Wood's, in order to find that enslaved woman, of whom they had spoken, and about whom there was so much agitation (for it was reported that a certain woman was enslaved by the Shakers; those in search had not yet found her, for another select party had searched the Meeting House for her a little while before, and the Children's Order at John Wood's had also been searched and examined.) But the committee refused to investigate farther, declaring that all of them were fully satisfied.

No ground of accusation being found or reported to the party, and the generality being wearied and perplexed with the same, and under a mortifying disappointment, were dismissed; the last of them disappeared as the darkness of night began to creep over the horizon, without leaving behind them any visible marks of cruelty.

Through this whole transaction no visible disturbance or confusion appeared among the Shakers. The greater number kept busy at their usual employments; took dinner in the usual manner, and entertained such as they could with convenience. They answered those mildly who spoke to them, whether peaceably or in a taunt. Such as wished to enter the rooms from the noise and clamor, did so, and spent their time in conversation.

That no evil or cruelty was transacted after such formidable preparations of design, can only be accounted for by the stand taken by Judge Dunlavy, assisted by the persuasive powers

of those who came with good intentions, and their love of justice and right.

The foregoing account of the transactions of the mob is taken from the narrative of Benjamin Seth Youngs, written August 31, 1810. When I visited Union Village May 10, 1901, Miss Susan Liddell was sent for. She is among the oldest Shakers, in point of service, in the village, and the best acquainted with its history. She gave me the additional information which she received from Shakers who were living at the time of the mob; Judge Dunlavy was a cousin of Richard McNemar; George Harlan had a sister who was then a Believer and came to assist and protect the Shakers; Richard McNemar found it necessary to go among the younger members and insist on non-resistance, for there was an indication among them to act in self-defence, and some of the Shakers were struck with whips and knocked down. This was particularly true in the instance of Calvin Morrell, a physician, who had become a convert.

Book A, of the Records, for Dec. 29, 1810, notes that again the Shakers were threatened by mob violence, which would indicate that nothing was done with the ringleaders of the mob of August 27.

MOBS OF 1813.

The records of the mobs of 1813 are exceedingly brief. They must have been of small moment or else an interested chronicler would have preserved the details. The first was on May 12, and the following is the sole entry: "Mob at the West Section; trying to take a woman away against her will."

For December 16th we have the following minute: "A violent mob came to the Center House today, in the employ of James Bedle, who had previously left the Society and bound his children to Peter Pease. His present aim is to take the children away by force. The house doors being closed and barred, they took a battering ram and broke a door in two; they then rushed in and committed considerable violence and abuse; but failed in getting the children. After a shameful day's riot, they dispersed for the night."

For December 29th the subject is continued. "Another mob appears to be collecting at Bedell's; meanwhile they are trying to prove before referees that the children have been abused by the Society; in this Bedle failed. The referees then recommended to Peter Pease to give up the Indentures, for the sake of peace, which was accordingly agreed upon; and the mob dispersed." The next day James Bedle came in the "morning and dragged off his 2 youngest children, much against their wills. They went off screaming and hollowing. The mother and the 2 oldest children have fled to some other quarter to avoid violence and enjoy their own faith."

MOB OF 1817.

The year 1817 was fruitful in disturbances at Union Village. The Church Record is very brief on this subject, although naming some of the parties participating in the riots. The Hampton MS. is more complete, and in the main, will here be followed.

The riotous proceedings commenced as early as January 12, when Patty Rude, an apostate woman, came to church, with a party of ruffians, to take her daughter Sarah (a young woman) away, by force.

On July 31, under pretence of law, a scene of mobbing and rioting was perpetrated. The object was to get a youth (Jonathan Davis, Jr.) away, who had left the society some time previously. Being under age his father authorized some of the brethren to go and bring him home, which was done. John Davis, an outsider and cousin, by whom he was harbored, raised a company in Lebanon, who came out in great indignation and threatened to burn the village to ashes, if the youth was not given over to them. Thirty or forty men came with a constable and arrested the brethren who brought the boy home; and had them bound over to court. They were indicted before the grand jury, but nothing came of it.

On December 3rd, Richard McNemar and Calvin Morrell went to Columbus to present a remonstrance to the Legislature against Van Vleet and Cameron, editors of the Western Star, and others on account of persecutions. These persecutions gradually died away, and in a few years ceased altogether.

As there was some little after-litigation on account of the John Davis affair, and as at the time of these troubles, the prosecutors had their say in the Western Star, added to which there was placed in circulation a book derogatory to the Shakers, it may be well here to note the facts as they occurred. The following is a narrative of William Davis, a near relative of the said John and Jonathan Davis: "This is to certify that I, William Davis, of the County of Warren, and State of Ohio, being one of the party included in the deposition of John Davis for committing a riot etc., on the bodies of the said John Davis and Jonathan Davis, which deposition hath been published to the world: in consequence of all being indicted who were present at the transaction, we have never had a suitable opportunity to open the matter as it really was. I now feel it my duty to give the public a statement of the facts which were as follows:

Some time in the month of July 1817 my youngest brother Jonathan Davis ran away from the school where my father Elijah had placed him and went to the town of Lebanon, to the said John Davis, his cousin. My Father and I went after the boy, but John Davis, Eli Truitt, and others forbade us to have anything to do with the boy; stating that they would protect him from his father, to the shedding of the last drop of their blood. — I went several times, to see if by any means I could get them to give him up to his father; but to no effect. My Father and Mother went, but could effect nothing. Some time after, John Wallace was informed by a friend, where John Davis and the boy were at work, some distance from the town. My father, anxious to obtain the boy, and insisting on having him brought home, myself and four others went to the place where they were at work; I went forward and took my brother by the arm and told him he must go home with me; John Davis rose up with a large drawing-knife in his hand and told me if I did not let him go, he would cut off my arm; — at this time John Wallace came forward and said to John Davis, 'Be civil we want nothing to do with you; — we only wish to take Jonathan to his father;' — the said Davis then left me and turned to Wallace with his knife drawn, in a position to strike. At this time, it is said, that Wallace showed a spear to Davis and bade him stand off. — I then took

the boy some distance, when John Davis called to the boy and said, 'You have got my hat.' We then threw the hat back to Davis. When we had gotten about 50 yards with the boy, John Davis passed us with the knife in one hand and a club in the other, stating that he would soon have help, and take the boy from us. After passing us a little, he turned back and came to where we were, and drew the knife as if to strike; one of us then stopped the knife with a stick — he drew it again and it was stopped in like manner, which ended the attempts at striking. We frequently requested him to withdraw peaceably, for we wanted nothing to do with him; nevertheless he continued to follow us for sixty or seventy rods, threatening us with violence. — He then returned to the town of Lebanon, and made oath that violence was committed by us and obtained a warrant for us all; which was executed without resistance. — He also, on the same day, collected a mob who came to take the boy; — they surrounded the house where the boy was, with clubs, loaded whips etc. — but the boy made his escape through the midst of the crowd, and went to the woods and secreted himself from them. — I do further testify, that we had no intentions of injuring the said John Davis, nor any other person or persons; — our only object was to bring the boy to his father and mother. This I am willing to testify to, when legally called upon.

WILLIAM DAVIS."

MOB OF 1819.

On the 7th of August, while the Shakers were quietly attending to their respective duties, suddenly a mob of horsemen, from about Middletown, between thirty and forty in number, entered the village from the North, passed the Meeting-House, and moved on swiftly, till they reached the South House; where they stopped, hitched their horses, and with great agility entered the yard, rushed to the door, but finding it barred, commenced striking it with their feet, to burst it open. There being none but women in the house at their arrival, a number of the Brethren collected to see the cause of the uproar, and their business was demanded. The reply was that they had heard that one Phoebe Johnson, a member of the Society, wanted to leave, but was forc-

ibly restrained. Miss Johnson, at that time, was in the orchard, and could have kept out of the way, but refrained from so doing. It was agreed that members of the mob should converse with her, conditioned however that she should not be abused in any manner whatsoever. The young woman then came to the opposite door and conversed with them through the window, and informed them that she had no desire to leave the Society, and if she had there was no one to hinder her from going whenever she chose; that she was of lawful age to choose and act for herself, and especially would scorn to go in such company as those men assembled. They persisted however, as if they meant to force her away, surrounded the house to prevent her from escaping, and grew insolent and daringly wicked with railing and cursing. Attempts were made to enter the house, which were successfully frustrated, and the intruders were ordered off the premises, but without effect. They mocked at the mention of the law, and answered every suggestion of reason with curses. In this manner they went on until late in the afternoon, when they withdrew after being convinced that the lady had effected her escape from the house.

On the Monday (August 9th) following, early in the day, the mob again appeared with a formidable reinforcement of horse and foot, amounting in all to about two hundred. They passed through the village in the same manner as before, and towards the same place, but with greater fury and less appearance of order or government. Their abuse was perpetrated on all such as they could sieze on the road till they reached the South House, where they hitched their horses and then paraded towards the gate, where they were met by the Deacons, and by the authority of the laws of the State, were forbidden to enter the yard; but with savage shrieks they leaped the fence in swarms, bearing down all who stood in their way. Calvin Morrell was knocked down and beaten almost to death, though he had uttered no word nor made any interruption. They rushed on towards the house — the Shakers standing in crowds to obstruct the passage; but with fists, clubs and loaded whips, the mob forced its way to the door which they commenced beating. Captain Spencer, who had some authority over the mob, now commanded the rioters to

desist; but on every side the outrage continued, crying out in false terms, and seeking every occasion to vent their lawless fury with hard blows on both men and women, for no distinction was made. Thus, in one continued uproar of violence, they continued until 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when Squire Welton appeared, and by the laws of the State commanded them to disperse; that, if there was any duty to be performed, it belonged to the civil officers; that only resistence to the constituted authority could the military be called out, etc. To this some mocked, and others stated the magistrate should be tarred and feathered. However, the civil authorities were strong enough to disperse the mob.

This mob had been incited by the "Western Star," published at Lebanon, under the pretence of liberating the children of David and Anna Johnson, who had been with the Shakers for thirteen years, and that with the consent of the parents. Their mother, who had there deceased, a member of the Society, left it as her last and special request, that her children might be brought up under the care of the Shakers. The father, who was not a member had given his consent that they should remain. Indeed he appeared in the midst of the mob and disapproved of their proceedings, but they heeded him not. The Shakers did not prohibit the mob from taking the children, provided they could be found, because their lawful protection was in their father; and they would not be justified in giving them up, contrary to their own feelings, and the will of both parents. Some of the children fled and hid themselves. Ithamar, who was nearly of age, was overpowered and dragged off to Lebanon and there put under keepers, under a pretence of a precept for debt; but obtaining his dismission, he returned home the next morning. David, the father, collected his children and encouraged them to persevere, promising to protect them to the utmost of his ability. The good offices of the Shakers supplemented the efforts of the father.

MOB OF 1824.

The last recorded acts of a mob I have been able to find in the Journal is that of September 7, 1824. It is mentioned as follows: "This evening at 8 o'clock, a small mob of about 16 men,

came to the East house with one Francis Drake, to take away his daughter, Harriet R. D., a young woman, who did not choose to go. After making some disturbance in the family; the chh. heard the alarm. The Brethren immediately repaired thither and took 10 of them prisoners without any harsh means, and brought them to the office — fed and lodged them comfortably till morning.—Sept. 8. This morning we discharged our prisoners, on their giving us their '*Word and honor!!*' that they would do better hereafter."

SOME SHAKER METHODS.

From the statements already made it may be assumed that the Shakers did not rest quietly under persecutions. At times they were compelled to take a bold stand. The attitude of the "Western Star" was so flagrant and bitter towards the Shakers as to cause hatred towards the Society by the people of the village of Lebanon. Just why this hostility was displayed mention is not given. In order to resent the bitter course of the denizens of Lebanon the Shakers employed drastic measures. Under date of June 15, 1818, the Journal state that, "Elder Peter (Pease?) and Nathan S. (Sharp) went to Lebanon and settled all accounts, intending to trade no more with them at present, in consequence of their inveterate prejudice and persecuting spirit." When trade was again resumed the Journal does not state. In all probability this condition did not last long, for the people of Lebanon could not afford to suffer the stand thus taken, and concluded to mend their manners.

For Sunday, August 5, 1829, the following notice occurs: "The execrable John Wallace dared to come here today, and set his feet within our Meeting House door." Nothing more is added. This is too frequently the case throughout the entire Journal. The Shakers had every reason to feel resentment towards John Wallace. My Mother, then a girl of thirteen, was present on the occasion above referred to. I have often heard her tell the story. On that day a large crowd attended the Shaker meeting. John Wallace entered and quietly took a seat and behaved with decorum. One of the Shakers arose and said: "The children of God cannot worship so long as the devil was in their midst," and then commanded Wallace to leave the Sanc-

tuary. Wallace made no disposition to comply with the demand. For a few moments the silence was oppressive, whilst all eyes were turned on Wallace. The same elder again arose and informed the spectators that unless they ejected Wallace the religious services would not be performed. Of course such a demand could not be complied with. It was no concern of the audience, but a matter that rested with the offended. Silence again reigned supreme for a few moments. All at once, without any preconcerted signal the Shakers suddenly arose, and like a person driving geese, began to "shoo" the people out. The visitors made a rush for the doors, most of whom were laughing, and in the struggle at the door my Mother was thrown violently from the steps to the ground and hurt. For this she never bore them any ill-will, and always told the incident in a good-natured way."

The Shakers have always been subjected to petty annoyances, even down to the present time. My Mother stated that she knew, in her younger days, of a party of young men and women from Franklin, who went to Shakertown, evidently bent on a lark. They rudely entered the dwelling house, took possession of the bedrooms, emptied vessels in the middle of the beds, and from thence to the yard and garden, plucking such flowers as they fancied, besides committing other depredations. And all this by persons who considered themselves to be the *elite* of Franklin.

Elder Joseph R. Slingerland informed me that the public services were dispensed with owing to the conduct of the students from the Lebanon Normal School. Not long since he was forced to reprimand a stranger, then on their premises. For his pains he received the reply, "I have as much right here as you."

CONCLUSION.

The foregoing relation of persecution and mob law inflicted on the Shakers covers nearly the entire amount of serious attacks and troubles which they were called upon to suffer. This, however, was as nothing compared to what their Eastern coadjutors were forced to endure. A gradual change was taking place all the time. People who attended their public services became bet-

ter acquainted with their principles and manner of life. These public meetings long continued to arrest the attention of large crowds. As many as a hundred sleighs have been counted at one time hitched about the Meeting House. I remember while I was yet a boy large crowds were attracted to "Shaker meeting." On one occasion, the crowd was so great that I sat on the floor within two feet of the speaker, who had scarcely room to stand. But at that time all ill-feeling had long before died out. There never was a good motive for afflicting the Shakers. Misrepresentation, falsehood, malice and officious persons caused wrong and fear. The order never was strong enough, nor sufficiently aggressive to arouse religious rancor and hatred, although such was displayed. They should have been accorded the same right as their tormentors had demanded for themselves. Their persecutors were not savages or barbarians, but those professing to be civilized and believers in Christianity, yet refusing to practice the Golden Rule.

Note.—It is a matter of justice to state that in the preparation of the foregoing article I have consulted only Shaker documents. I made efforts to secure the writings of Barton Stone but failed. Besides the documents referred to, I have used McNemar's "Account of Shakerism among the subjects of the late revival in Ohio and Kentucky." The Church Journal or Record, I have used is volume A, covering the period from March 27, 1805, to April 30, 1861. This Record was not in my possession when I wrote the history of the Shakers of Union Viliage. From the year 1805 to 1842 the Record is in the hand writing of Peter Pease, which is neat and plain. From the beginning to Dec. 19, 1811, it is made up of extracts from a journal kept by Peter Pease. Besides this series there is another called B which contains copy of covenant, declarations, deeds, etc.; C contains a list of members and minors, admissions, ages, nativity, etc.; D is devoted to necrology, and E of withdrawals. These I have not examined. The Shaker authorities have been very polite and pleasant to me in my researches, granting every request that has been made.

Franklin, O., January 6, 1902.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL HISTORY OF OHIO.*

[This discriminating review is reprinted from the June number of the *Records of the Past,* published in Washington, D. C., and edited by Rev. Henry Mason Baum, D. C. L., and Prof. Frederick Bennett Wright.—E. O. R.]

Under this title the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society has just published a volume of seven hundred and seventy-six pages, prepared by Mr. Gerard Fowke. In addition to thorough acquaintance with the literature of the subject, Mr. Fowke has the advantage of being a practical surveyor and of having spent much time in the actual survey of the remarkable mounds and earthworks which are found in Ohio. The number of these mounds is said to exceed 10,000; while in extent and complication of structure the earthworks exceed all others found in the United States. Naturally the mystery attending these prehistoric structures has attracted the attention of a great variety of writers, many of whom have formed theories concerning them which have little connection with the facts themselves. It was with the purpose of sifting these theories and getting at the regular facts which have been brought to light by competent explorers that this volume was prepared. A good share of the work of Mr. Fowke has therefore been to correct the errors concerning them which had become current, and to dispel the illusions freely indulged in by the majority of those who have written upon the subject.

A prominent error respecting the earthworks and inclosures relates to the mathematical accuracy of their construction. None of them are laid out with sufficient regularity to imply the use of anything but the rudest methods. Their squares are not square, and their circles are far from being regular. Nor is there any evidence of the employment of any tools more effective than

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*Archaeological History of Ohio. The Mound Builders and Later Indians. By Gerard Fowke. Published by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1902.

The price of this work is $5.00, postage prepaid. It may be obtained by addressing E. O. Randall, Columbus, Ohio.

rough stone implements, or the employment of any means of transporting the earth other than baskets. In all cases, also, the material for the earthworks has been obtained from the immediate vicinity.

Extensive as the works are, their construction, he thinks, is not beyond the ability of a moderately sized Indian village during a comparatively short period of time. The Fort Hill embankment is estimated to contain 50,856 cubic yards of material. With the means at their disposal, 250 Indians could have easily constructed this "inside of 6 months."

Nevertheless, these structures may well continue to excite the wonder of archæologists. Fort Ancient, in Warren County, is an irregular promontory 250 feet above Little Miami River, surrounded by walls and earthworks measuring 18,712 feet in length. Fort Hill, in Highland County, is a flat-topped summit of 35 acres, completely surrounded by walls and earthworks measuring 8,582 feet in length. The stone fort at Glenford, Perry County, contains 20 acres, at the summit of a hill 300 feet above the surrounding level. The fortified hill in Hamilton County contains 12 acres; a similar one near Granville, Licking County, contains 18 acres; one in Butler County, 28 acres; one in Miami County, 18; and another near Dayton, 24 acres.

Of the inclosures upon low lands, those of from 3 to 5 acres are too numerous to mention; while one in Green County has 12 acres; one in Franklin County, 8 acres; one in Montgomery County, 31 acres; one in Butler County, 95 acres; one in Clermont County, 50 acres; one in Ross County, 111 acres, besides two others nearly as large, and 8 others ranging from 13 to 28 acres each, and the complicated works of the Harkness Group inclosing more than 70 acres. Indeed, in Ross County, for 12 miles along the valley of the Scioto, and 6 miles along Paint Creek, there is a continuous succession of extensive and complicated earthworks.

In Pike County the combination of square and circle joined by parallel embankments includes more than 30 acres. Near Portsmouth extensive and complicated earthworks include areas of 35 acres connected by parallel embankments extending to the Ohio River, with corresponding ones upon the Kentucky side.

The symmetrical works at Marietta include squares of 50 and 27 acres, with mounds of various shapes and a graded way leading to the Muskingum River. In Newark, Licking County, "mile after mile of embankments, circles and other geometric figures, parallels, lodge-sites, and mounds, covering an area of more than 4 square miles, amaze the archæologist and curiosity seeker alike as they spend hours and days in traversing the ground in every direction, constantly finding something worthy of investigation and description."

The most remarkable effigy mound is the Serpent of Adams County, which has been explored and restored by Professor F. W. Putnam, and presented to the State of Ohio. This is situated upon a rocky promontory overlooking Brush Creek, and has a total length, when measured along all its coils, of 1,350 feet. Near Granville, Licking County, there is an effigy 250 feet in length, representing probably an opossum, though it was formerly supposed to be an alligator; while near Portsmouth there is an effigy 105 feet in length supposed to represent a bear.

From this simple but incomplete enumeration of facts it is clear that the mounds and earthworks of Ohio have justly excited the interest which has been aroused by them. But this interest has not led to any satisfactory solution of their purpose or origin. The result of Mr. Fowke's discussion is almost purely negative, showing how unsatisfactory every theory is. His conclusions are that the mounds which were supposed to be for the purpose of signaling from one prominent point to another would be of little service for that purpose; that the extensive earthworks upon the low lands are neither appropriate for fortifications of defense, for the support of temporary structures for habitation, nor for the promotion of religious ceremonies. But the fortified hilltops were adapted to be of service for temporary defense. They are, however, ill adapted for sustaining long sieges, on account of the impossibility of obtaining water.

The most probable theory for the most of the mounds is that they are the burial-places of distinguished members of the tribes. One of these, the Hopewell group of mounds in Ross County, has yielded the most remarkable collection of implements and ornaments supposed to have been buried in honor of

the dead. Eight thousand one hundred and eighty-five flint discs, each weighing about one pound, the material of which came from more than 200 miles to the southwest, were, however, probably cached to be worked over into implements. But various ornaments were doubtless for memorial purposes. Among these were large numbers of spool-shaped copper ear-ornaments and various other ornaments of copper wrought into tasteful shapes. Numerous thin pieces of copper were cut into the shape of the Swastika cross; while pieces of mica were cut into fair resemblances to fish. A skull of a skeleton was covered with a wooden head-dress with branching horns like the antlers of a deer, all encased in thinly beaten copper. Large numbers of finely wrought obsidian arrowheads and spearheads were also found, together with shell ornaments from the Gulf of Mexico.

These discoveries are doubly interesting for the light they shed upon the extent of the commerce of that time. The flint disc found in such large numbers in the Hopewell Mound are supposed by Mr. Fowke to have come from the vicinity of Louisville, Ky. The mica probably is from North Carolina, the shells from the Gulf of Mexico, the copper from Lake Superior, and the obsidian from the Yellowstone Park, or from some place equally distant in the southern part of the Rocky Mountains. The skill shown in the manufacture of the ornaments is such that some at first maintained that they were machine made and must be of European manufacture. But closer examination demonstrated that they were hand made, and that there was no reason to doubt their native origin.

The wonder in the study of all these remains, (both the monuments themselves and the implements), is that so much could be done with the clumsy tools at the disposal of the Mound Builders. There is no indication of their having used iron or of their having melted copper. All the copper implements and ornaments were hammered into shape, but the hammering must have been done by pebbles rounded in the streams or worked into shape by flaking and grinding. The dirt of which the mounds and earthworks were made must have been loosened by stone implements, and the forests cleared by building fires

at the base of the trees and removing the charred portions by the rudest means.

The Mound Builders, like all established tribes, knew how to make fire by friction, and were very skillful in the application of fire to various purposes. At Flint Ridge in Licking County, for instance, 100 acres have been dug over to find the veins of flint which occur, and deep holes excavated in the solid rock to obtain material best fitted for use. Some of these pits were from 12 to 80 feet in diameter and 20 feet in depth. The work was effected by building fires upon the surface, and then throwing water upon the rock while it was hot, causing it to shatter; when the fragments were removed, and fire and water again applied.

The nearest approximation which can be made to the age of the earthworks is that they are older than the period of discovery of America by Columbus. The efforts to estimate the antiquity earlier than that date from the size of the trees and from the distribution of the different kinds of trees is thought by Mr. Fowke to be futile. For the origin of the Mound Builders Mr. Fowke is inclined to look to the various tribes of Indians which have developed in the Mississippi Valley, and does not think it necessary to attribute them all to any one tribe. The hill fortifications may well represent temporary places of defense, constructed by more warlike tribes from the north, while the inclosures in the river valleys were connected with the more permanent residences of tribes that had become sedentary in their habits. To maintain this theory, Mr. Fowke dwells at great length upon the praiseworthy characteristics of the Indians, showing from a vast accumulation of statistics that they are more industrious than they are generally reputed to be, and instancing such remarkable characters as Tecumseh, Pontiac, and Joseph to show the possibility of organized efforts sufficient to accomplish all the results apparent in the mounds of the Mississippi Valley.

It is well to have this careful collection of facts bearing upon every side of the problem of the Mound Builders, even though the results are mainly negative. There remains yet a vast amount of work to be done in exploring other mounds and earthworks, and in comparing material already in hand with that which is being collected in other parts of the world. We think Mr. Fowke

fails to recognize the full significance of various striking resemblances between these American relics and those from other parts of the world. The Serpent Mound can scarcely be thought to be an original invention. The Swastika cross has been traced by the late Dr. Thomas Wilson wellnigh around the world, being found in greatest profusion and variety in the earliest ruins of ancient Troy; while the exact resemblance between the palæolithic implement found by Mr. Mills* in Newcomerstown, Ohio, and others found in the valley of the Somme in France could scarcely have originated by independent invention.

But Mr. Fowke has had full opportunity to give his own interpretations and publish his own views upon these controverted questions, and has produced a volume which is well worthy of the enterprising Society which is setting about the more systematic and thorough exploration of the antiquities of the state.

CRITICISM ON FOWKE'S BOOK.

BY STEPHEN D. PEET.

[Mr. Peet is the editor of the American Antiquarian, published at Chicago, Ill., and the author of several scholarly works on American Archæology. He was one of the organizers of the Ohio State Archæological Society.—E. O. R.]

In reviewing the book on the Archæological History of Ohio, it is not the purpose to reflect upon the Society under whose auspices it appears. It is true that the first Archaeological Society, which was established at Mansfield in 1874, had a field meeting every year of its existence, the first near Mansfield, the second near Newark, and the third at Fort Ancient, so that all the members could see for themselves whether the statements or explanations made by any one of the number present were correct or not. The meeting at Newark revealed to the members the extent of the works, also the difference between the one class erected by the so-called "mound-builders" and another

* W. C. Mills, Curator of Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

class which could be ascribed to the later Indians. The meeting at Fort Ancient was attended by gentlemen from Cincinnati who were familiar with the works, and at that time the writer pointed out the resemblance of the walls of the old fort to two gigantic serpents. Mr. Fowke himself was present for a short time, but no one of the members imagined that he would ever rise to such a magnitude as to sit in judgment upon every person who had written, or should write, upon the subject of archaeology, and their surprise is, therefore, the greater when a book appears written by him under the auspices of the Archaeological and Historical Society, and still more surprised to find that he has set himself up as a censor and judge.

It will also be a surprise to everyone to read the statement that "most publications relating to the subject, whether newspaper articles or bulky volumes, are the work of *relic hunters, or persons whose curiosity is excited by something they have seen, or heard, or visionaries seeking proof of a pet hypothesis;* * * * also that *hasty surmises appear in the form of definite assertions; indications and possibilities patched together with wild guesses, are recorded as established facts.* * * * *A few unfortunately, bear the signatures of distinguished men whose successful work in some other profession or branch of science gives to their words the weight of authority when they decide, usually as a matter of recreation, to dabble in archaeology.*"

I do not know what experience this young man who rushed away from the company in such haste may have since had in the field, or what training he has had in the schools, but I maintain that anyone who has the modesty that most scientific men have, and the courtesy which most gentlemen unconsciously possess, would avoid the language which mars this book and brings a blush to the cheek of nearly every archæologist. The author knows that the very gentlemen whose names he uses so freely, and of whom he speaks so disrespectfully, have stood for many years as the most scholarly and accomplished writers this country has ever produced. He knows, also that many of these gentlemen have passed away, and that even according to the heathen motto, "nil mortuis nisi bonum," he should have some regard for their reputation and have spoken kindly of their memory.

The science of American Archaeology requires a great deal of reading as well as exploring, for the questions will come up in reference to the early condition of the American aborigines as compared with the later, which can be settled only by being familiar with the writings of the earliest historians, including the "Jesuit Relations" and other books, as well as those of the various historians. Fortunately the most of the Archaeologists, especially those who have undertaken to write books, have made themselves acquainted with the literature on the subject, but have discriminated between those books which were written at an early date and those which have recently appeared, making all due allowance for the progress of the science.

Mr. Fowke knows who has written upon the subject, and he ought to know the difference between a mere adventurer and ignorant tyro and common newspaper writer, and those gentlemen who have been endorsed by the learned societies of this country and whose works have been published by the Government or by those who are known to be reliable and trustworthy.

It certainly seems presumptuous for a young man who has had as little experience in the field as Mr. Fowke has to deny the testimony of those who saw the works of Ohio when they were well preserved and in a condition to be properly interpreted, and then to set his own testimony against theirs.

It may be that the pre-historic works of Ohio are, at the present time, in such a condition that they cannot be identified. Those pronounced by all who have seen them as 'graded ways" and designed for canoe landings, are nothing more than *natural ridges;* but, if so, the testimony of some competent geologist should have been secured, and the young man, who has a reputation to form as an archaeologist, should have fortified himself by the testimony of more competent men.

It is easy to hold a field meeting and reach decisions that are reliable. The interpretation of such works as the Great Serpent Effigy has been veried. This is owing to the worn condition of certain portions of it, yet the cliff on which it rests is the same as nature formed it. When, therefore, those who have had experience in studying effigies give their testimony that there is frequently a correspondence between the shape of the

cliff or ridge, and "the form of the effigy on the summit, and that their superstition always led the aborigines to a quick recognition of the resemblance," it becomes one who is ignorant of mythology to be somewhat modest in his statements.

Everyone knows who has ever visited the Great Serpent that there is no other cliff like it in the state of Ohio, and the topography of the region confirms what has been said about the Great Serpent.

The public will be likely to receive the testimony of such careful observers as Prof. F. W. Putnam and W. H. Holmes much sooner than that of Mr. Gerard Fowke, and he only hurts himself when he undertakes to ridicule either of them. In reference to the "sacred enclosures" being village sites and connected with the bottom lands and the river sides by socalled "covered ways" and "graded ways," the statement of others is certainly as reliable as the denial of this self-constituted critic and judge. The reader of the book does not need to go to the localities, where these villages are situated, for he has only to look at the cuts which have been reproduced from Squier and Davis' celebrated book to see that nearly every one of the earthworks, which have been ascribed to the mound builders, whether village sites or forts, or designed for dances or religious ceremonies is situated on the banks of some stream, and many were at one time connected with the streams (at least at high water) by graded ways, and were provided with canoe landings.

The works are not entirely destroyed and a resurvey would easily settle the question. It should be remembered that some of the books on the Archaeology of Ohio were written before Mr. Fowke was born, and the authors had the opportunity of seeing the works as they were at that time and the public is likely to believe their testimony as to the object and use of these works as to accept the opinion of one who has seen them only in their present worn condition. The archaeologist is expected to so interpret every object which he sees that others may learn about the social life which once existed and be able to people the works with a busy scene of activity. The archæologists who have studied the ruins of ancient cities have been able to do this. They have brought before us the pictures of ancient society

which seem to be very real and very correct. This should also be the case with the person who studies the earthworks of Ohio. He should be so familiar with ancient Society as to make the monuments speak and interpret the works and relics so that they will be suggestive of the people who used them. A negative criticism does not serve any good purpose. Every writer should rise to a plane higher than the ordinary observer, and should put into the works the very life that once existed.

The perfunctory examination of the works and relics by a single irresponsible and unreliable person certainly is a very poor foundation for a book of 760 pages — and when this is attended with such negative evidence as may come from denying the testimony of nearly all who have been in the field and have written on the subject — it destroys confidence in the book itself but confirms the testimony of preceding writers. The archæological history should be based on the testimony of previous writers and explorers, and is in this respect, different from an archæological report. As it is, this *socalled history* tends to overthrow archæology — but fails to establish history — and yet both must go together if we are to have a complete record of the state, which is so celebrated for the achievements of both the historic and prehistoric people who have dwelt in it.

FOWKE'S BOOK REVIEWED.

BY J. P. MACLEAN, FRANKLIN, OHIO.

[Prof. Mac Lean is one of the Trustees of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and the author of several archæological and historical volumes, in both of which subjects he takes high rank. He was for some years Curator and Librarian of the Western Reserve Historical Society. The following article was in the form of a communication to the Editor of the Quarterly.—E. O. R.]

I have made a very thorough examination of Fowke's Archæological History of Ohio and I am pained to say I never before experienced so great a disappointment in a book. Without hesitation I pronounce it the most dogmatic, arrogant, intollerant,

warpish, cruel, brutal and virulent book I ever had the misfortune to read.

A book of so pretentious a nature should be judicious, fair, manly and dignified, all of which elements it is sadly deficient in. Its errors are so numerous that to point out each separate one would be to eliminate more than half the pages. I will trouble you with the following particulars:

First. The spirit of the book is very bad. Even if the views of certain authors are wrong, it is poor taste and exhibits a want of culture to apply such epithets to the persons and writings of gentlemen as the following: Simple (p. 33), paradoxical surmises (p. 52), ridiculous, fanciful (p. 58), unwarranted opinions, assumptions (p. 59), wonder mongers (p. 72), hysterically (p. 73), equally ridiculous (p. 74), rhapsodies (p. 75), abundant theorizing, tendency towards the marvellous (p. 76), silliness (p. 79), delusive (p. 86), ridiculous (p. 87), the next is a gem (p. 88), pure fancy (p. 100), dubious feature (p. 108), funny twist (p. 112), twaddle (p. 115), groundless assumption (p. 122), silly (p. 135), perverted (p. 274), very foolish theories, conceit (p. 320), lucubratious (p. 425). One paragraph of less than nine lines contains "ridiculous," "fanciful conclusions," "height of absurdity," and "venal charlatan," (p 58), and another of less than seven lines, "turgid emanations," "sort of stuff," and "vagaries" (p. 71). This vituperation might also do for school boys practicing the use of invectives, but it is certainly out of place in a scientific book.

Second. Ridicule is another objectionable feature which mars many pages of the book. No man desires to be ridiculed, and when one engages in that pastime he displays both a want of judgment and kindly feeling. I will not note all the sentences of this description. On one page (63) both Prof. Short and Col. Whittlesy are subjected to this brutal treatment, although both are hushed in death. The former is brought through the fire on account of his opinion concerning the Cincinnati Tabulet, and the latter for his investigations into the metrical system of the Mound Builders. Peck (p. 70) is advised to restrain his impatience, while Squier and Davis are accused of seeing "an altar in every spot of burned earth" (p. 309). Perhaps Dr. Peet receives

that greatest balm, which certainly borders closely to the line of libel. "Peet possesses a peculiar faculty for seeing snakes. But he is justified in exploiting this discovery; in fact, he should give it more prominence than he has done, for there is probably not another work in the world where two snakes are represented as the proud possessors of five tails — or five sets of rattles, whichever it is" (p. 279). Equally significant is the misrepresentation of Prof. Newberry's remarks on the age of forest trees (p. 118).

If it be granted that the epithets applied and the ridicule perpetrated are warranted by the facts in the case, that would be no justification of their use in the present volume.

Third. I desire to call your attention to such uncalled for expressions or sentences as these: "Strangely enough, he makes no mention of the tall man with heavy whiskers and an unusually large jaw" (p. 73); "the trunk of the mastodon to one, is the tail of the coon to the other" (p. 92).

Fourth. While no one would seriously object to Mr. Fowke's right to maintain a theory, yet reckless statements should not be hastily made. His power of stating a fact or grasping one, he presents (pp. 59, 60) in the following computation: "The most complete and convenient catalogue of writers on aboriginal remains, accessible to the public, is that contained in the American Antiquarian," for July, 1887, and March, 1893. From these books Mr. Fowke marked over one hundred volumes of quotations. The reference here cited, including letters, papers in societies' reports, as well as separate volumes, number eighty-one in all. The hundred volumes of Mr. Fowke must necessarily shrink into insignificant ones.

Fifth. Mr. Fowke makes some very serious charges. Squiers and Davis, "Ancient Monuments" (p. 57), state that they carefully surveyed in person an ancient work in Ross county. Mr. Fowke says, in reference to this averment, that "it is not probable they ever made any such survey as that set forth in their note" (p. 57). My understanding is that the literary work of "Ancient Monuments" was performed by Dr. Davis. This is

the only instance known to me of his veracity being called in question.

On a par with the above is his assault on the Bureau of Ethnology. Even if he is correct, the impeachment has no place in the book in question. He asserts (p. 303) that the former chief of the division of mound explorations was without practical experience and employed only men without experience or knowledge in archaeological works. (It must be remembered that some years ago Mr. Fowke engaged in field work for the Bureau.) The Ohio Archæological Society cannot afford to cast opprobrium on any other society, especially when there has been no provocation. Whatever spleen Mr. Fowke may have against the Bureau, our society cannot afford to be the means of conveyance.

Regarding the Elephant Pipes, owned by the Davenport Academy of Science, we are blandly informed (p. 112) that all the evidence for and against their genuineness is in the Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. It is charity to assume that Mr. Fowke is ignorant of Col. Putnam's paper, in vindication, published in Vol IV. of the Society's Proceedings.

Sixth. Mr. Fowke shows his incapacity of holding former statements. As an instance, in one place (p. 83), speaking of Ft. Ancient, he declares that such statements as "at numerous places are found large quantities of water-worn stone which, after an incredible amount of labor, have been carried from the river below," are not true; while speaking of the same structure, on another page (239), he avers that "at every opening where the wall is worn away, stone may be seen cropping out at the base."

Seventh. The author exercises a wonderful faculty of confusion. As an instance he treats of glacial man in the second chapter, and near the close of the third tackles the same proposition again (p. 43). The graded way at Piketon is summarily dismissed (p. 126) as a natural product, and resurrected for further operation (p. 274). All the excavated graded ways pass away except the one at Marietta which was formed by digging earth for the mounds and embankments in the vicinity!!!

Eighth. In order to suit his caprice "physiological fact" (p. 287) is made to play an important part. The symmetry of pro-

portion in the effigy mounds is nowhere preserved. As an evidence that the same is sometimes adhered to in carvings reference need only be made to the effigy pipe that forms the frontispiece of Mr. Fowke's book.

Ninth. Mr. Fowke essays a list of books some of which he recommends "for careful reading." Among those which do not receive his seal of approval are such works as Bancroft's History of the United States, Gibbons' Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, etc., etc. On the other hand, abusing Squiers and Davis' "Ancient Monuments," most shamefully, and charging it with being the foundation of the misconception and erroneous beliefs so generally acceped, yet he recommends the book for careful perusal!!!

Tenth. The book is largely made up of quotations, massing together the sayings of the amateur with those of the professional. Not satisfied with this, newspaper clippings (p. 288) are dragged in that they may be disposed of.

Unfortunately the quotations from authors are perverted in such a way that the true index to their works is lost sight of. In short it is a work of destruction. Yet I do not believe that any of the flaggelated books will be injured thereby. The animus of the work is so transparent as to be reactionary. Mr. Fowke has lost a golden opportunity. If he had listened to the advice of the secretary of the society he might have done honor to himself. He dug the pit into which he has fallen. Mortal man can never extricate him.

Eleventh. The book on its face shows that it consists simply of Mr. Fowkes' opinions of the writings of others, and what he pretends to know of antiquities. He displays a want of familiarity with the earth works of Ohio, or else a want of a clear conception concerning them. It is a disappointment that he has not given even a cut of the enclosures of Ohio. Many of Ohio's interesting remains are passed over in silence, and hence the book cannot be a guide to the uninformed who might be interested in the prehistoric remains of this state. Some of these remains have been figured and described. Among them reference might be made to the Annual Reports of the Smithsonian Institution for 1881, 1883, 1885. Probably Mr. Fowke never heard of them.

Really of what value to any one are the opinions of Mr. Fowke?

The society cannot afford to become sponsors for Mr. Fowkes' eccentricities. It is far better that the entire edition be suppressed and all the books sent out recalled, than that the society should suffer from this most inconsiderate of books.

If the Executive Committee will take such action it will not only meet with my approval but I will advocate the same before the entire Board of Trustees.

THE MOUND BUILDERS OF OHIO.

S. S. KNABENSHUE, TOLEDO, OHIO.

[The following interesting review of Mr. Fowke's ARCHÆOLOGICAL HISTORY OF OHIO, is from the *Toledo Blade* of June 26, 1902.]

Archæology, in its widest sense, is the science of antiquities. It investigates the relics of man and his industries, and classifies his remains and records of every kind from the past. In the United States the domain of archæology covers everything connected with the inhabitants down to the period when the whites came upon the scene.

The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society has just issued a volume of 760 pages, entitled Archæology of Ohio: The Mound Builders and Later Indians. It is written by Mr. Gerard Fowke, of Chillicothe, whose name and work are well known to all who are familiar with the archæological and scientific progress of the past score of years.

Mr. Fowke's book is written for the general reader, not for the specialist or scientist. There are very many persons interested in American antiquities who have neither time nor opportunity to obtain and read the vast amount of literature which has accumulated, especially since the publication of Squier and Davis's researches in the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, over a half-century ago. In the present work, so much of this matter as relates to Ohio antiquities will be found in compact form. As certain features of Ohio achæology, however, can not be well

considered by themselves, the discussion is often given a continental scope. This is especially true of the large portion of the work relating to the Mound Builders, and to the mooted question of the existence of man before the glacial epoch.

The first thing which strikes the reader — and most favorably — is that the author does not set up a theory on any subject and then proceed to twist the evidence to support it. An excellent example of this is in the chapter on Palæolithic Man. A few rudely chipped flints have been found at different places in the United States, notably in the Trenton gravels along the Delaware river. The question is, whether these relics were laid down in the situations where found at the same time the gravels were deposited, or whether, through the caving of the river bank, and perhaps other causes, they were transferred from the surface to the points where discovered. Mr. Fowke gives the statements of various writers on both sides of the controversy, and then leaves the matter with the remark that when men of great ability, after devoting much time to investigation on the spot, can not agree, those less informed have no right to form or express an opinion. This excellent attitude of fairness and conservatism runs throughout the book.

The discussion of the various theories as to the origin of the American Indians is excellent. Much space is given to a fair and impartial presentation of the views of those who have discussed the subject. The great stumbling-stone to correct views on this subject is the supposed necessity of assuming that the Western Continent must have been peopled from the Eastern. In the light of modern scientific beliefs, this is not a necessary predicate. If man came into existence through an evolutionary process, there can be no valid reason assigned why the progenitors of the American Indians may not have originated on this continent, the negro in Central Africa, and so on.

The largest portion of the work naturally is that which refers to the Mound Builders and their remains. Mr. Fowke has done a somewhat disagreeable task, but one very necessary to be done, in demolishing a number of fanciful theories which have served no purpose but to obscure the subject, and to hinder the progress of investigation.

Perhaps the most colossal of these erroneous theories is that the Mound Builders were a people much more advanced in civilization than the Indians: that in all portions of the country wherein their remains are found they flourished at the same period, forming a great empire; and many more suppositions based upon the assumption that they must have been a very numerous people. The fallacy of this contention is shown, after numerous characteristic quotations from all its leading supporters, from Squier and Davis down to the present. There is no evidence that they were in any respect superior to the Indians in civilization; they had no greater knowledge of the arts; that they occupied contemporaneously all the localities where their remains are found is a mere assumption. They were probably divided into tribes, just as the Indians were, and were more or less migratory.

In point of fact, there is nothing to prove that they were in any respect different from the Indians. It it not a violent presumption that they were of the same race, for some tribes of Indians continued the erection of burial mounds down to the period of white occupancy. And it is the conclusion of Mr. Fowke that "there is no probability that any manuscripts, inscriptions or other records will ever be disclosed which will aid in solving the unanswered questions concerning Mound Builders." All we can do is to investigate their tumuli, cemeteries and village sites. "But the discouraging feature presents itself that we seem unable to find anything new or essentially different from what we already have. Our museums are filling up with material from all these sources; and yet, for years, the accumulation has added nothing in the way of real information to what we already knew."

Much space is given to the various enclosures, mounds, fortifications, village sites and relics of these people. There are 303 plates, maps, plans and engravings, many of which are reproductions from former publications, but which are very valuable taken in connection with the text. In the chapters dealing with the Indians there is much interesting matter, especially in the comparisons of their work and habits to some observed in the remains of the Mound Builders. Mr. Fowke has done splendid service

incidentally in correcting a number of errors with regard to the ancient monuments of Ohio, due to the superficial nature of the examinations and measurements made by different writers, and the errors, deliberate or otherwise, in their descriptions. The book is a most valuable contribution to archæology, and the state society is to be congratulated upon its enterprise in securing its preparation and publication.

OHIO RESEARCHES INTO ARCHÆOLOGY.

[The following is from the pen of the distinguished author, Frank B. Sanborn, who was the guest of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society at its annual meeting, June 6, 1902. The article here produced first appeared in the *Springfield Republican* of Springfield, Mass. —E. O. R.]

The barbarous archæology of North America has been receiving great attention of late years, especially in Ohio, where its more important monuments are; and now Gerard Fowke, backed by the Ohio Archæological Society, whose president is Gen. Brinkerhoff of Mansfield, and its secretary E. O. Randall of Columbus, has written the "Archæological History of Ohio," at much length and with many engravings, to describe the work of the mound builders in that state and near its borders, and to illustrate the character of our aboriginies, who must have built the great works and furnished the wars and burials and religious rites for which they were built. No such complete single volume exists, so far as I know; and in it are summed up, not without scorn and refutation, those theories of the origin of the works and the habits of the builders, which do not square with the author's own. It is quite impossible now, and probably always will be, for us to understand the minute causes and full explanation of these numerous and peculiar mounds and earthworks; for the race or races which made them had no literature, nor even an alphabet, that first step in literature, so that they could hand down to posterity their own explanation, as the Greeks and other literary races have done. Mr. Fowke makes it appear clearly enough that there was no lack of intellectual ability in our aborig-

inies (wherever they got it,) but for lack of an alphabet they could have no intelligible history — and for lack of all but barbarous art, they could have but a short chapter of pre-history, such as Boucher de Perthes developed for the fossil men of France. Under these circumstances it is far too easy to despise our Indians, as our jingoes now despise and "hike" the Filipinos, while Root and Lodge raise a great smother in the landscape to keep the truth from view. We should remember what Gray said of the rural poor of England,

> "Let not Ambition mock their useful toil,
> Their homely joys and destiny obscure,
> Nor Grandeur hear, with a disdainful smile,
> The simple annals of our 'Lo the poor.'"

For it appears by Mr. Fowke's later chapters that the Indian women, so much pitied by many writers on account of the drudgery they had to do, were, in fact, owners of the soil, —. not to keep it out of the hands of creditors, as in our civilization, but as a leading part of the tribe. Lucien Carr, who is high authority among the conflicting and pugnacious antiquarians of the west, has this to say:

"Of the cabin, the Indian wife was absolute mistress; and not only was this true of the cabin and all that it contained, but she seems also to have owned the fields and harvests. In fact, we are told that the whole of the land occupied by the tribe belonged to her. At a council held in 1791, the women told Col. Proctor, the American commissioner, "We are the owners of the land, and it is ours." In another instance they, in conjunction with the warriors, obliged the chiefs to reopen a council that had been declared closed, and to make a sale of lands upon terms which had previously been rejected by these chiefs — Cornplanter among them. These two instances justify us in concluding that either wholly or in part, the land belonged to the women. According to Morgan, the title was vested in all the people of the tribe, including females as well as males; and of this there cannot be much doubt in view of the many deeds, receipts and other official documents that have come down to us, bearing the signatures conjointly of the principal women, the chiefs and the leading warriors."

NOTE — HISTORICAL.

R. W. M'FARLAND, OXFORD, OHIO.

People familiar with the early annals of the West, know something of Simon Kenton. They know also of the rivalry between him and Leitchman for the hand of a young lady—that Kenton was unsuccessful in his suite—that there was a fight in consequence and that in the first encounter Kenton again lost, but in the second, by wrapping Leitchman's long hair about a sapling, Kenton won, and so severely beat his opponent that thinking him fatally injured, he left at once for the West, not returning to his home for additional clothing. He changed his name to Butler and was known by that name for twelve or thirteen years next following.

Ellis in his Life of Kenton says that in 1782, Kenton learning that Leitchman did not die, returned to Virginia and came back with his relatives to Kentucky. The statement is repeated on p. 192 in this Journal for October, 1901. The question is whether that statement is correct.

The writer of this note is one of the few men now living who knew Simon Kenton personally. The families were connected by marriage, and the first twenty-two years of my life were spent among the Kentons, children and grandchildren of Simon and of his older brother, William. For more than half a century a family record was kept by one of William's daughters. Years ago I copied out the chief parts of that record and have it before me.

In 1832 McClung's Sketches of Western Adventure was published, containing an account of Simon Kenton. About two years after Simon's death, I read this account to Thomas Kenton, son of Wm. Kenton and nephew of Simon. This Thomas was in his fourteenth year when the Kenton family and about forty other persons left Fauquier county, Virginia, on the 16th of September, 1783, for Kentucky. In a month they reached Redstone (Brownville) on the Monongehela. At this place they took boats. Simon's father, Mark Kenton, then eighty-two years old, was one

of the company. He died shortly after leaving Redstone and was buried on the bank of the Ohio between Pittsburg and Wheeling.

In regard to the fight, McClung says, "He [Simon] accordingly walked over to Leitchman's house one morning, and finding him busily engaged in carrying shingles from the woods to his own house," etc. When I had read thus far Kenton cried out vehemently, "That's a lie; it wasn't shingles, it was two-foot clapboards."

Finishing McClung's sketch, Kenton said it was all right except the "shingles." The whole incident is as fresh in my mind now, as if it had happened but yesterday, and it seems to me to be a strong corroboration of the truth of McClung's account.

At the same time this Thomas Kenton, then sixty-eight years old, told me that the family had never heard of Simon after his fight, until on reaching Kentucky, they found "Simon Butler," and learning that Leichman did not die, (for more reasons than one) he resumed his true name. This account differs from that of Ellis, and coming from the lips of one who was of the company, and personally knew the things whereof he spoke, it appears to me to be the true account.

It may be of interest to say that the Kenton colony landed at Louisville, about the first of December; then went to the vicinity of Harrodsburg, and remained there till 1794; then moved to the vicinity of Maysville, and 1801, to the Madriver valley, a few miles west of Urbana, Ohio, where hundreds of the connection live now.

Note. — The children of Wm. Kenton who settled in the vicinity of Urbana with the father, were Philip C., Thomas, Mark, William, Jane, Mary and Elizabeth. Simon lived for years four or five miles south of Urbana on the road to Springfield.

GIRTY'S ISLAND.

BY N. B. C. LOVE, DESHLER, O.

Girty's Island, in the Maumee River, a hundred years ago, was the headquarters of the Indians and was the home, for a time, of Simon Girty.

* * *

Rich in verdant foliage of varied green
And many kindred growth of stately trees,
Plants, flowers and vines with nectar for bees,
Blended in a quivering summer sheen;
And around the waters ebbying tide,
Bending low long boughs with vines interlace
And reflect in the liquid mirror's face,
Scintillating, like moving pictures, glide.
Here Girty's council fires light up the scene,
And all is weird with songs of Indian life,
The whoop and taunt of the savage, whose spleen
Finds vent in imaginary battle strife.
Girty and his dusky aborigines,
Glory in bloody work beneath the trees.

THE NORTHWEST.

BY N. B. C. LOVE.

O'er the vast Northwest, the storms of war
Had for ages long fearful havoc made,
With Chieftain bold and many a wildwood maid,
And Squaw and warriors both near and far.
Grand in its vastness reaching from the height
Of the Alleghenies to the great River,
Which through the continent flowed ever,
From frozen North to Southern warmth and light;

And its Lakes of crystal water fit for gods,
And commerce of multitudes unborn
Who would scorn to ask of Kings any odds.
Inexhaustable the stores in this estate,
Ample to make the millions rich and great.

Here God's own forest palaces stood
With shaft, column and architrave aloft,
While primitive men in modest worship oft
Felt within that the Great Spirit was good.
Why all this region indescribably great,
Its forests, rivers, prairies, lakes and rills,
Its *fauna* and riches beneath the hills?
That it might be restored to Eden's gate;
All its fastness of primeval splendor,
Of mountain, valley and sequestered dell.
No voices to praise, nor hands to defend her,
And no historian her glories to tell,
But only the silent Mosoleum Mounds
Whose unwritten records in them abounds.

The warm throbbing heart of the *Greater West,*
An empire divinely formed, soon to be
Grander than those beyond the olden sea —
With freedom and every good possessed.
No pen shall give her record long but lost,
Or write the deeds of a pre-Adamic race
In wars, and the exciting woodland chase,
Or fleets with oars, or Seas they crossed:
Or of mighty men whose sacrificial ashes urned,
In mound of stone and earth like Babylon;
Whose fair sons were on their altars burned,
And devoutedly praying worship the rising sun.
All are silent now as the ancient graves;
Only is heard footsteps of tawny braves.

MEMORIAL TO THOMAS WILSON.

W. C. MILLS.

[This memorial was submitted by the writer at the annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, June 6, 1902.—EDITOR.]

It is my sad duty to record for the annals of our Society the decease of our esteemed friend Dr. Thomas Wilson, late curator of Archæology in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., whose death occurred early Sunday morning, May 4th, 1902.

Dr. Wilson was a great friend of our Society and was also a contributor to our Quarterly. In many ways I have been compelled to call upon Dr. Wilson for information upon various subjects pertaining to Museum work and in all cases he responded cheerfully and generously.

Dr. Wilson spent the greater part of his busy life in the city of Washington. He was born July 18, 1809, at New Brighton, Beaver Co., Pa. His ancestors both on his father's and mother's side came from northern England; those on his father's side settled in Harford county, Md., while those on his mother's side, the Mercers, settled in Chester county, Pa. As the country became more settled the Wilsons moved to Beaver Co., Pa., and the Mercers to Columbiana county, Ohio.

In those early days it was not considered of great value to have an education, but Dr. Wilson attended the common schools at New Brighton, where he received the best education afforded there, at that time. He was a very ambitious young man and bound to make his way in the world. He left his native town of New Brighton and came to Salem, Ohio, where he apprenticed himself to David Woodruff in order to learn carriage making. He remained with Mr. Woodruff for two years and then went west, serving as a journeyman in several places in Illinois and Missouri. He finally settled in Marietta, Marshall county, Iowa, where he followed his trade of making plows used for breaking the new prairie land.

In a short time he was chosen a deputy clerk of the court From this experience he turned his attention to law and later completed his course in the law office of Finch & Croker, Des Moines, Iowa, after which he was admitted to the bar. He then returned to Marietta and began his legal practice, in which he continued with marked succes.

At the beginning of the Civil War he enlisted in the 2d Iowa Cavalry, and was promoted to the rank of Captain, but preferring the infantry branch of the service, he resigned and raised a company which was known as the 4th Iowa Volunteers, of which he was given command. He was mustered out of service Sept. 16, 1864. He went to Washington to settle up his accounts with the government and there formed a legal partnership with the distinguished Thomas Corwin of Ohio for the prosecution of claims against the government. All the members of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society will remember the visit of Dr. Wilson to our city, some years ago, when he presented to the Society a fine oil painting of Thomas Corwin, his former partner. In 1881 he retired from the practice of law and was appointed United States consul to Ghent, Belgium, after a few years he was transferred to Nantes, and later to Nice, France.

For years prior to his study of the law he was very much interested in the mounds and prehistoric monuments of this country. After his stay in Nantes he took up the study of prehistoric monuments and all of his leisure time was devoted to the study of archaeology. He visited all the museums and collections in western Europe and investigated most of the sites known for their occupation by prehistoric man. During his residence in Europe, he gathered, both by purchase and as the result of his own excavations, a collection of several thousand objects pertaining to prehistoric archæology of Brittany. This collection he deposited in the Smithsonian Institution.

In 1887 Dr. Chas. Rou, curator of archaeology in the Smithsonian Institution died, and Dr. Wilson became his successor, in which position he continued until his death.

Dr. Wilson was one of the foremost advocates of popular instruction in the Science of Anthropology, and he devoted

much time to lecturing and writing upon the subject. Many of you will remember the address of Dr. Wilson, as Vice President of Section "H" of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, given in Orton Hall, Ohio State University. The subject being, "The beginnings of the study of Prehistoric Anthropology."

Among his many contributions to Anthropology and Archaeology may be mentioned, "A Study of Prehistoric Anthropology," 1888; "Results of an inquiry as to the existence of Man in North America during the Paleolithic Period of the Stone Age," 1888; "Criminal Anthropology," 1890; "Primitive Industry," 1892; "Minute Stone Implements from India," 1892; "The Swastika, The Earliest Known Symbol," 1895; "Prehistoric Art, Or the Origin of Art as Manifested in the Works of Prehistoric Man," 1897; "Arrowpoints, speareheads and knives of Prehistoric Time," 1898.

In connection with his Museum work he was called upon to install, at the Cincinnati Exposition in 1888, an exhibit from the Department of Prehistoric Anthropology. He also assisted in making the display at the World's Fair in Chicago; at the Exposition in Atlanta and other places. In 1889 he was sent to Paris as a delegate from the Smithsonian Institution to the tenth international congress of anthropology and prehistoric archaeology. In 1892 he visited the Columbian historical exposition held in Madrid. He served on the jury of awards at the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago. He was also one of the commissioners to the exposition held in Brussels in 1898; his services there gained for him the decoration of the Order of Leopold Premier, King of Belgium. Dr. Wilson was one of the regents of the National University from which he had received the degree LL. D. He was a member of many scientific and patriotic societies and a member of the Anthropological Societies of Brussels, London, Paris and Washington.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL. XI. No. 1. E. O. Randall JULY, 1902

ARCHAELOGICAL AGITATION.

Elsewhere in this Quarterly we publish quite a snappy symposium concerning Fowke's Book, "The Archæological History of Ohio," published by our Society in April last. Mr. Fowke's volume is well calculated to "stir the bones" of the Mound Builders and their modern investigators. It is of course distinctly understood that the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society does not stand sponsor for Mr. Fowke's archæological views much less for his personal animadversions. We perused the advance sheets of Mr. Fowke's book and insisted upon the elimination of much detraction of other authors and we advised the expurgation of much more. It is to be regretted that Mr. Fowke could not have presented his facts and fancies in a less cantankerous style. His pages are all "sickled o'er" with the lurid cast of sarcastic dogmatism. The subjects of his "remarks" however take him much too grievously: His intolerance is his own condemnation. His book is a vast store house of research, study and conjectures concerning the mysterious people known as the Mound Builders and of their extant prehistoric works. His volume moreover is a veritable encyclopedia of the literature heretofore produced on the subject. No such book has ever appeared and no other state could furnish the material for such a production. Of the technical merits of the "history;" its opinions and statements, we do not presume to speak. The archaeological students are speaking for themselves and somewhat unrestrainedly as they are justified in doing.

This disputation is rather discouraging to the "layman." The saying "in a multitude of counsellors there is wisdom" does not hold out in this case. In a crowd of critics there is an irrepressible conflict, and when doctors disagree who shall decide? A distinguished American jurist remarked "the past at least is secure." If that be true archæology ought to be regarded as a "dead sure thing." But Fowke's emanations, and indeed the mass of archæological bibliography (American) forces the unsophisticated to the unalterably agnostic conclusion that the Mound Builder was a successful disciple of that classic motto "Mum's the word." Some wag has related that when Ralph Waldo Emerson visited Egypt and stood speechless in awe on the Sahara Sands before the Sphinx — he suddenly saw the lady's graven

mouth begin to move and approaching the immobile features, silent for centuries, he placed his ear to the stone lips and heard a sound like a subdued murmur "you're another." As Artemus Ward would say of this controversy of the critics "it would be funny if it were not serious." The Mound Builders builded better than they knew. Their works are food for thought and subjects for study. Certain it is that they were a vast and enterprising and interesting race, whence and whither and why we evidently have not learned. Archæological "history" is largely archæological speculation, and with speculation one man's guess is as good as another's, unless it happens to be your own and then of course it is a good deal better than some one's else.

> "But first I would remark, that it is not a proper plan
> For any scientific gent to whale his fellow-man,
> And, if a member don't agree with his peculiar whim,
> To lay for that same member for to 'put a head' on him."

FORT ST. CLAIR.

In the first week in July it was the privilege of the editor to be the guest for a day of two of the Hon. C. R. Gilmore of Eaton, the pretty little county seat of Preble county. Mr. Gilmore is the son of the late Judge W. J. Gilmore who was for many years a trustee of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and one of its most active and enthusiastic advocates and workers. He was a devoted lover of historical lore especially that pertaining to Ohio and the Northwest. His grave is located in the picturesque cemetery of Eaton and commands a view of the nearby hill upon which was located the memorable Fort St. Clair. This historic site and the surrounding fields were the property of Judge Gilmore, and at his death passed to the possession of his son Clement R. Gilmore.

Fort St. Clair was erected in the tempestuous months of the Winter of 1791-2. It was started December 15, 1791, and completed January 26, 1792. Gen. Wilkinson sent Major John S. Gano, belonging to the militia of the Territory, with a party to build the fort. William Henry Harrison then but an ensign, commanded a guard every other night for about three weeks, during the erection of the fort. They had neither fire nor covering of any kind and suffered much from the winter cold. It was a stockade of the usual kind, about three hundred feet square and had about twenty acres cleared around it. The outline can yet be traced in the contour of the field surface. It was designed to be the midway fortification between Fort Hamilton on the south and Fort Jefferson on

the north—forts some forty-four miles apart. It was another advantageous link in the chain of secure stations to extend from the Ohio to the mouth of the Maumee. This line of forts, Washington, Hamilton, St. Clair, Jefferson, Recovery, St. Marys, Defiance Deposit, Miami and Industry, with some others near or along the line was for the purpose not only of enabling transit across the state, but to form a continuous impediment to the inroads of the hostile Indians of the old Northwest country. The four southern posts, Washington, Hamilton, St. Clair and Jefferson were about twenty-five miles apart, and connected by a road or trace cut through the dense timber and undergrowth by the soldiers of St. Clair's army. It required about six days to go on horse from Fort Washington to Fort Jefferson and return. After St. Clair's defeat garrisons were left at the posts and it was necessary to furnish these with provisions. In the autumn of 1792, Little Turtle, the celebrated chief, at the head of about 250 Mingo and Wyandot warriors, started out to attack a new settlement of the whites then forming at the mouth of the Little Miami river (Columbia, Ohio). When passing near Fort Hamilton, the Indians attacked some of the garrison working in the timber and captured two of them. From these they learned that a company of from fifty to one hundred mounted Kentucky riflemen, escorting a brigade of pack-horses and under command of Captain John Adair, were on the way to Ft. Jefferson, and would pass on the return trip at a certain time. Accordingly they lay in ambush along the trail. The escort however rested at Fort Jefferson over Sunday, and did not appear as soon as expected. Hearing when the Kentuckians had advanced as far as Fort St. Clair, the Indians planned a surprise and attacked them before daylight, November 6, 1792 under the walls of the fort. A hot fight ensued which developed into a running scrimmage to near the present site of Eaton, Ohio, where the Indians were lost sight of just after day light. Twenty or thirty horses were killed, six left to the soldiers and the balance taken by the Indians who seem to have made the attack principally for this result. The bodies of two Indians were found among the dead horses and several others had probably been carried away by their friends. Several Americans were wounded and the following six were killed: Lieutenant Job Hale; Sergeant Matthew English; Privates Robert Bowling, Joseph Clinton; Isaac Jett and John Williams. These six heroes lie buried in the grove just south of the south line of the fort. Mr. C. R. Gilmore is about to have their board markers replaced by neat stone slabs bearing the names as now designated, thus rescuing these sacred spots from decay and oblivion.

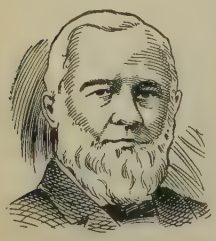
It was on a bright Sabbath morning that Mr. Gilmore and the writer footed the way from the town to the location of the Fort. Dodging between showers, we trod the water-soaked fields, climbed the intervening fences, walked the slippery logs across Garrison Branch, the swollen stream near the battle ground, picked our path through the thick forest

to the row of graves in which repose the remains of the six heroes who laid down their lives for the advancing civilization there on the confines of the western frontier. For over one hundred years those soldiers of the infant Republic have mouldered in that secluded, forest-shaded "god's acre" — far from the thoroughfare of the busy, noisy twentieth century. It would seem that they ought always to so remain close to the bounds of the old fort and on the scene of the conflict where they fell; the stately trees of the woods sheltering their sepulture; in summer singing low lullabies with their rustling foliage and in the Winter winds sighing dirges to their memory. They were American patriots no less than those who fell at Bunker Hill, Lundy's Lane, Monterey, Gettysburg and San Juan; yea, more, for they fell in the depths of an almost trackless forest, without the incentive of the pomp and circumstance of war. When they were placed beneath the sod doubtless not a "drum was heard, not a funeral note." They have no tablet of brass or shaft of marble to record their deeds in the days that tried men's souls, but they were the advance guards of the white civilization that was invading the vast Northwest; they were the fearless and sacrificing sculptors who carved from its primeval elements the modern proud Buckeye state. May the bivouac of these braves never be disturbed.

By the courtesy of Mr. Frazer Ells Wilson of Greenville, we reproduce a photograph taken by him of the graves and wooden markers as now to be seen.

HENRY BISHOP PERKINS.

Hon. Henry B. Perkins, a life member, from its organization, of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, died at his home in Warren, Trumbull county, Ohio, on March 2, 1902. He was a worthy descendant of a noble family of New England stock, a family that has a conspicuous history in the settlement of the Western Reserve. Mr. Perkins was born in Warren, Ohio, March 19, 1824. His father was General Simon Perkins, who represented leading proprietors of the Land Company and ownership in the Connecticut Western Reserve. General Simon Perkins and his sons were most influential in the building up of industrial and commercial enterprises in Cleveland, Akron, Warren and other localities in Northwestern Ohio. General Perkins died in 1844; Henry Bishop Perkins was his youngest son. He inherited large wealth from his successful father and by his integrity, industry and ability, greatly increased the same. Bu he lived for more than the material. He was unselfishly devoted to family and friends. He was in sympathy with all practical influences for the betterment of his fellow men—betterment mentally and morally. He was generous to religious, charitable and educational institutions. He was a constant worker for the uplifting of the masses, and besides serving on the Warren board of education for years, with his brothers endowed a professorship in Western Reserve college. He twice served on the state board of agriculture, was a trustee of Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical college, now the Ohio State University. Mr. Perkins always took a deep interest in the promulgation of the best literature and was one of the most active agents in the establishment and growth of the Warren Public Library.



H. B. PERKINS.

In 1878 the governor of Ohio appointed him a member of a commission of three to serve with a similar commission from Pennsylvania, in re-establishing the Ohio-Pennsylvania line.

From 1879-1883 he represented Trumbull and Mahoning counties in the state senate, and for many years he was one of the trustees of the State Hospital for Insane in Cleveland. In 1888 he was a presidential elector for Harrison, all the honors conferred upon him being unsolicited.

October 10, 1855, he married Eliza G. Baldwin, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Norman C. Baldwin of Cleveland, who survives him. The children living are Olive, wife of Judge Samuel Smith of Cleveland; Miss Mary, and Jacob, who live at home.

His benevolence, always unostentatiously bestowed, can be remembered in hundreds of Warren homes, and no public charity ever appealed to him without recognition.

Mr. Perkins was a courteous, affable gentleman, beloved by all who knew him and honored and respected by all who had dealings with him. A touching instance of his relationship in life to his employes was the fact that at the private burial at Oak Wood Cemetery the pall bearers were the faithful and sorrowing workmen who had been in his service for the years respectively noted after their names: Wm. Gott, twelve years; Wm. Nesbit, ten years; Thos. Nesbit, thirty-five years; Jos. Latimer, fifty years; John Waters, twenty-five years Howard Craig, twenty years.

In the funeral address delivered by Rev. W. L. Swan, a friend and pastor of Mr. Perkins for many years, occurs this fitting allusion:

"On one of the many public occasions when Mr. Perkins was called upon to preside, was the occasion when the soldiers' monument was dedicated. Ex-President Hayes then said· 'It is a partially truthful saying. that men who need monuments do not deserve them, and men who deserve them do not need them.' Equally true is it of eulogy. And in this community where he whom we mourn to-day, was born, and lived his useful life, and died, where he stood so generously in the material and moral interests of the place, to us, who lived with him and knew him, no eulogy is more than a vain repetition.

His life was not an ordinary one. Much might be said of that broad, strong grasp on practical affairs, of the judgment quick and clear, of the tastes as simple as they were refined, of the kindly sympathy and helpfulness he was ever so ready to manifest, of the beautiful, even ideal home life among those he loved, and who loved him so well."

SALT LICKS OF JACKSON COUNTY.

We are indebted to Mr. D. W. Williams for a copy of his History of Jackson County. This is the first of other volumes, if the publication of other volumes is encouraged by the public. This volume is devoted mainly to the history of the famous Salt Licks in the Scioto Salt Reserve, set aside by Congress May 18, 1796. "These springs or licks" says Mr. Williams "are as old as the hills, for that erosion which carved out the valleys between, exposed the strata from which they flow: They were discovered by the wild animals of the forest, and became one of their most favored resorts long before man appeared upon the earth. No better evidence of this is needed than the great quantity of fossil remains of extinct animals, which have been discovered from time to time in the neighborhood of the licks."

Mr. Williams then relates how these Salt Licks became the popular resort, so to speak, from way back, even before the Glacial period, for the Mammoth, Mastodon, Megatherium, Buffalo, Elk, Deer and other game. Then came the Primeval man the Mound Builder who must have regarded

the Salt Licks as his fashionable Saratoga, where he could imbibe healthful saline water, and then the Indian, perhaps the Shawanese were the first, who recognized the value of these springs. "There is no record of the coming of the Indians, but it is known that the Shawanese owned and occupied Jackson county when it was discovered by the whites. It appears, however, that all the Ohio tribes were allowed to visit the salt springs and to make salt. Situated as they were on the great Indian trail from the mouth of the Kanawha to the head of the Maumee, they were visited by hundreds, and sometimes, thousands of Indians, during the summer months. These gatherings resembled the Russian markets of the last century. Many of these visiting Indians bought their salt, giving in exchange flint implements, tobacco, beads, pipestone and other articles of aboriginal commerce. It is told that tribes at war with each other would observe a truce during these visits. The squaws performed all work, chopping the saplings for fuel, drawing the water and watching the fires day and night, while the men spent their time huntnig, fishing, playing ball, gaming and telling yarns. In later years, they tortured white captives in the presence of the assembled tribes. Even after the whites had taken possession of the licks the Indians used to revisit them every summer until about 1815."

Mr. Williams' book of 188 pages has a great deal of interesting and valuable data of the early history and traditions of the county. It is all arranged under headings and indexed so as to be easily accessible. It is to be hoped Mr. Williams will bring forth successive volumes.

FORT WASHINGTON.

Mr. Robert Ralston Jones is responsible for an attractive little volume on Fort Washington, erected in 1789 and demolished in 1808 to make way for the encroaching city of Cincinnati. Fort Washington was one of the most famous and important of the frontier forts, and played a potent and prominent part in the affairs of the Northwestern territory. It was the rendezvous and starting point of the Harmer, St. Clair, Wilkinson, Wayne and lesser expeditions. About Fort Washington cluster a crowd of interesting events and traditions. Mr. Jones makes succinct and reliable statements of the chief historical incidents connected with the fort. His book is illustrated with portraits and plats. It is not a pretentious book in size or matter, but is a valuable compendium of much early Ohio history. It is dedicated to Mr. Herbert Jenney, governor of the Society of Colonial Wars in the state of Ohio, "through whose personal efforts the plan for marking the site of Fort Washington, at Cincinnati was successfully carried out." A full account of this marking of the site of Fort Washington was published in Volume X Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society publications.

THE DUNMORE WAR.*

By E. O. Randall.
Secretary Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

The American colonists had fought the French and Indian war[1] with the expectation that they were to be, in the event of success, the beneficiaries of the result and be permitted to occupy the Ohio Valley as a fertile and valuable addition to their Atlantic coast lodgments. But the war over and France vanquished, the royal greed of Britain asserted itself, and the London government most arbitrarily pre-empted the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi as the exclusive and peculiar dominion of the Crown, directly administered upon from the provincial seat of authority at Quebec. The parliamentary power promulgated the arbitrary proclamation (1763) declaring the Ohio Valley and the

* Authorities consulted in preparation of the article on Dunmore's War — E. O. R.: Abbott's History of Ohio; Albach's Western Annals; American Archives (4th Series, Vol. I); Atwater's History of Ohio; Bancroft's History of the United States; Black's Story of Ohio; Brownell's Indians of North America; Burk's History of Virginia; Butler's History of Kentucky; Butterfield's History of the Girtys; Campbell's History of Virginia; Cook's History of Virginia; Doddridges's Notes on Indian Wars, etc.; Drake's Indians of North America; Drake's life of Tecumseh; Fernow's Ohio Valley in Colonial Days; Fiske's American Revolution, Vol. II; The Hesperian, Vol. II., (1839); Hildreth's Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley; Hosmer's Short History of the Mississippi Valley; Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio; Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia; Jacob's Life of Cresap; Jefferson's Notes on Virginia; Kercheval's History of the Valley of Virginia; King's History of Ohio; Lewis's History of West Virginia; Mayer's (Brantz) Logan and Cresap; McDonald's sketches; McKnight's Our Western Border; Mitchener's Ohio Annals; Moore's Northwest Under Three Flags; Monette's Valley of the Mississippi; Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications; Olden Time (Monthly), Vol. II; Peter Parley's History of the Indians; Ryan's History of Ohio; Roosevelt's Winning of the West; Stone's Life of Joseph Brant; Taylor's (J. W.) History of Ohio; Thatcher's Indian Biographies; Thwaites's Afloat on the Ohio; Virginia Historical Register (Vol. V); Walker's History of Athens County; Whittlesey's Fugitive Essays; Winsor's Western Movement; Withers' Chronicles of Border Warfare.

[1] 1756–1763.

Great Northwest territory should practically be an Indian reservation, ordering the few straggling settlers to move therefrom, forbidding the colonists to move therein, and even prohibiting trading with the Indians, save under licenses and restrictions so excessive as to amount to exclusion.

On June 22, 1774, Parliament passed the detestable Quebec Act which not only affirmed the policy of the Crown adopted in the proclamation of 1763, but added many obnoxious features, by granting certain religious and civil rights to the French catholic Canadians.

This policy of the Crown stultified the patents and charters granted the American colonies in which their proprietary rights extended to the Mississippi, and beyond, embracing the very territory to which they were now denied admittance[2].

The establishment of England's authority in Canada, with Quebec as the seat of arbitrary and direct rule over the colonies, was a tightening of the fetters that bound the chafing colonies. The Quebec Act was one of the irritants complained of in the Declaration of Independence "for abolishing the free system of English law in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies." The French Canadians were favored by the Quebec Act in their legal rights and religious privileges. The untutored savages were its especial foster children. The colonists were flagrantly and unjustly discriminated

[2] "In 1763, at the close of the French and Indian War, the English Parliament passed an act which disfranchised the Catholics of Canada, and cut off the revenues of their church. This law continued in force until October, 1774, when Parliament, having received intelligence of the "Boston Tea Party," and fearing that the Canadians would unite with her now disaffected colonies, enacted what is known as "The Quebec Act." By it the boundaries of that province were extended to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers; the old French laws were restored in all judicial proceedings, and to the Catholics were secured the enjoyment of all their lands and revenues. Thus it is seen that the present State of Ohio was made a part of Quebec, and the inhabitants of the District of West Augusta were correct in their representations to Congress that the Ohio was all that separated them from Quebec." — Lewis, History of West Virginia, p. 139. This last (1774) act was especially obnoxious to the American colonists.

against. The restless enterprise and obstinate opposition of the frontier settlers led them to encroach and "poach" upon the "preserves" of the Crown. The fearless and independent frontiersman of Pennsylvania and Virginia longed for the unrestrained opportunity to cross the Ohio, and pushing their way into the trackless wilderness, seek homes upon the banks of the Tuscarawas, the Muskingum, the Scioto, the Sandusky and the Miamis. They went first as hunters, then as prospectors, and finally as settlers; "they purchased lands with bullets, and surveyed claims with tomahawks."

Such was the situation until the year 1774 when the smouldering embers burst into a flame, and Dunmore's war was the prelude to the Revolution. The Dunmore war has been promotive of much ingenious speculation and curious guesswork by writers and historians. An air of semi-mystery heightens the intense interest that attaches to this most important and romantic event in western American history. John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, was the royal governor of Virginia colony. He was a descendant in the feminine line from the house of Stuart; the blood of the luxurious, imperious and haughty Charleses ran in his veins. He was a Tory of the Tories. He was an aristocratic, domineering, determined, diplomatic representative of his sovereign, King George, but he was also a tenacious stickler for the prerogatives of the colony over which he presided. He held his allegiance as first due the Crown, but he also was "eager to champion the cause of Virginia as against either the Indians or her sister colonies." He was avaricious, energetic and interested in the frontier land speculations. He had an eye for the main chance, financial and political. He could not have looked complacently upon the Canadian policy of his government. But he was the center of opposing influences. The prescribed limits of the various colonies, while generally distinctly defined near the Atlantic coast, often became indefinite and conflicting west of the mountains. The grant to Virginia gave her a continuation of territory west across the continent, and according to her claim took in the southern half of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The Quebec Act nullified this claim and incurred the disfavor of Dunmore, who defiantly opposed this injustice to his colony. More than this the Virginians assumed title to all of the extreme western Pennsylvania, especially the forks of the Ohio

river and the valley of the Monongahela. This, of course, meant Fort Pitt, which, at this time was occupied as a Virginian town, though claimed by the Pennsylvanians as their territory.

Governor Dunmore appointed as his agent or deputy at Fort Pitt one Dr. John Connolly, a man of reputed violent temper and bad character. Connolly was named vice governor and commandant of Pittsburg and its dependencies. Connolly was at best an impetuous and unscrupulous minion of his master. He changed the name of the settlement from Fort Pitt to Fort Dunmore, and proceeded to assume jurisdiction in such an arrogant and merciless manner in behalf of the Virginians, and against the peaceable Pennsylvanians, that a war-like collision was narrowly averted[8].

Connolly's counter plays between the Virginians, the Pennsylvanians, the Indians and the British authorities are too complex and contradictory to be unravelled here. Whatever Lord Dun-

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[8] In the winter of 1773–4, one Dr. John Connolly, a nephew of George Croghan, determined to assert the claims of Virginia upon Fort Pitt and its vicinity. He issued a proclamation to the inhabitants to meet at Redstone, now Brownsville, on the 24th and 25th of January, 1774, and organize themselves as a Virginia militia. Before the time appointed Connolly was arrested by Arthur St. Clair, who then represented the Pennsylvania proprietors at Pittsburg, and the assemblage at Redstone dispersed without definite action. As soon as Connolly was released from custody, however, he renewed his efforts to establish the exclusive authority of Virginia. He came to Pittsburgh on the 28th of March, with an armed band of followers, and in the name and by the authority of Lord Dunmore, proclaimed the jurisdiction of Virginia, rebuilding Fort Pitt, which was called Fort Dunmore. He was recognized as Captain Commandant of a district called West Augusta, and almost immediately exhibited a tyrannical spirit to all who were in the Pennsylvania interest, while he seemed not unwilling to involve the frontier in an Indian War, one motive for the latter policy being, as suggested by Arthur St. Clair and others, to cloak his extravagant civil expenditure, with the indefinite item of frontier defence. — Taylor (J. W.), History of Ohio, pp. 242–3.

American Archives, 4th Series, Vol. I, p. 270 et seq. contains numerous letters and documents revealing the riotous state of affairs prevailing at Fort Pitt after the arrival there of John Connolly, who, though a native of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, was regularly commissioned by Lord Dunmore to represent his lordship's authority as magistrate for West Augusta, the county Dunmore had added to Virginia from Pennsylvania territory. — E. O. R.

more was, this man Connolly was double-dyed in duplicity. He pitted one colony against the other, the Indians against both, and, so far as he could, doubtless aided the British to urge on the Indians. That the British authorities were, in this whole affair, the abettors of the savages, is sufficiently evidenced by the fact that while the Indians were openly and unitedly fighting the colonies who were still British subjects on the Ohio frontier, they (the Indians) were receiving arms, ammunition and provisions from the English distributing station at Detroit[4].

The Canadian French traders who drove a thriving business with the Indians naturally stimulated them to resist the frontiersmen's encroachments. The occupation of the exclusive territory by the colonists meant the termination of their traffic. The brunt of this contention fell upon the Ohio Indians and the Virginian backwoodsmen. The six nations as such took no part in it. The Pennsylvanians stood aloof. They were not so aggressive as their southern neighbors, and their interest in the Indian was a commercial and peaceful one. The Virginians, therefore, were the only foes the Ohio Indians really dreaded. The Virginians were crack fighters in those frontier days. They were adventurous, courageous, and of hardy stuff. In the mountain dwellers of the Monongahela and Kanawha valleys the red man found a foeman worthy of his prowess. It was they the Indians styled the "long knives," or "big knife," because of the bravery they displayed in the use of their long belt knives, or swords. They were a match for the deadly tomahawk. Another reason why the Virginians were willing and active aggressors in these border difficulties was that the royal authority had promised the Virginia troops a bounty in these western lands as reward for their services in the French and Indian war. A section had been allowed them by royal proclamation on the Ohio and Kanawha rivers. When in the spring of 1774 Colonel Angus McDonald

[4] "For it is well known that the Indians were influenced by the British to continue the war to terrify and confound the people, before they commenced hostilities themselves the following year in Lexington. It was thought by British politicians that to excite an Indian war would prevent a combination of the colonies for opposing parliamentary measures to tax the Americans." — Narrative of Capt. John Stuart in the Virginia Historical Register, Vol. V, p. 188.

and party proceeded to survey these lands they were driven off by the Indians. Meanwhile, intrusions across the border, depredations, conflagrations and massacres were committed in turn by either side. Much has been written as to which was the earlier or greater aggressor. That discussion is not pertinent to our purpose. Many cabins were burned and many lives brutally destroyed. Havoc and horror were prevalent.

Most prominent among the leaders of the whites in this Indian warfare was one Captain Michael Cresap, a Marylander who removed to the Ohio early in 1774, and after establishing himself below the Zane settlement (Wheeling) organized a company of pioneers for protection against the Indians[5]. He was appointed by Connolly, a captain of the militia of the section in which he resided, and was put in command of Fort Fincastle[6]. Cresap was a fearless and persistent Indian fighter, and just the one to lead retalitory parties across the Ohio into the red men's country. In April, Connolly, only too anxious to spring the explosion, issued an open letter warning the frontiersmen of the impending war and commanding them to prepare to repel the Indian attack[7]. Such a letter from Dunmore's lieutenant amounted to a declaration of war. The backwoodsmen were at once in arms and seeking an opportunity to fight. As soon as Cresap's band received Connolly's letter they proceeded to declare war in regular Indian style, calling a council, planting the war post, etc. What is sometimes known as "Cresap's war" ensued. Several Indians while descending the Ohio in their canoes were killed by Cresap's company. Other Indians were shot within the Ohio border by intruding and exasperated whites. Logan, chief of the Mingos, established a camp near the mouth of Yellow

[5] This individual (Captain Michael Cresap), owing to the beauty and eloquence of the Logan speech, has acquired a reputation, certainly not to be envied, and which we verily believe he does not merit. He was an early martyr in the cause of his country, in the struggle for independence, and we feel it to be a duty and a pleasure to do him justice. That he killed some Indians in the spring of 1774, seems undeniable, but that he was clear of any connection with the Yellow Creek outrage is equally certain. — Craig's Olden Time, Vol. II, p. 65.

[6] Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, Vol. I, p. 370.

[7] Roosevelt, Winning of the West, Part I, p. 257.

creek, about forty miles above Wheeling. It was first thought Logan's camp was a hostile demonstration, and the camp should be attacked and destroyed. Cresap and his party proposed and started to do this, but finally thought better and decided Logan's intentions were peaceful, — for he had ever been the friend of the whites, — and the intended attack was abandoned. But Logan's people did not escape. Opposite the mouth of Yellow creek on the Virginia side of the Ohio resided an unscrupulous scoundrel and cut-throat, Daniel Greathouse, and fellow frontier thugs. They kept a carousing resort, known as Baker's Bottom, where the Indians were supplied with rum, at Baker's cabin. On the last day of April, a party of Indians from Logan's camp, on the invitation of Greathouse, visited Baker's place and while plied with liquor were set upon and massacred. There were nine, including a brother and a sister of Logan, the latter being the reputed squaw of John Gibson, who were thus foully murdered. Other relatives of Logan had been previously killed. The Baker massacre is one of the most awful blots upon the white man's record. Michael Cresap was not present and had nothing to do with the dastardly deed, and his innocence in the affair is well established, though many authorities still couple his name with the plot, if not the act itself. Logan believed Cresap to be the guilty party, as is evidenced by his using Cresap's name in the famous speech[8]. There were many bloody enactments. Vengeance and retalition were resorted to equally by both sides. The malevolent murder of Bald Eagle, the Delaware chief, of Silver Heels, the Shawanee chief, the malignant massacre of the mother, brother, sister and daughter of the famous Mingo chief Logan, were but incidents among many that aroused

[8] A vast deal of literature pro and con is extant concerning Cresap's relation to the murder of Logan's family. This subject has been pretty thoroughly worked over in Jacob's Life of Cresap; Brantz Mayer's Logan and Cresap; Jefferson's Notes on Virginia; American Pioneers, Vol. I (1842); The Olden Time, Vol. II (edited by Craig), and many other publications. The best vindication of Cresap is the statement of George Clark as printed in The Hesperian Vol. 2. 309, 1839. The evidence is conclusively in favor of the innocence of Cresap in the Baker's Bottom massacre. Cresap was made captain of a company in Dunmore's command. — E. O. R.

the hostility of the Indians to a furious pitch. They thirsted for the warpath. The white borderers were no less anxious for the encounter. Lord Dunmore did not wish to repress it. While the solitude of the western forest was broken by the war whoop, and the crack of the white man's deadly rifle, and the midnight sky was lighted with the flaming cabin, and the burning ripened crops, the citizens of the New England colonies were no less astir with intense excitement. Freedom was beginning to breathe. Meetings were being held to protest against royal tyranny, and committees of correspondence were sending forth their missives laden with the ideas of independence. It was 1774. The Boston Port Bill had been passed by parliament in March, and denounced in the Boston public meeting in May. That same month the Virginia House of Burgesses, of which George Washington, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson were members, assembled at Williamsburg, the colony capital, and resolved "with a burst of indignation," to set aside the first of June, when the Port Bill should go into operation, "as a day of fasting and prayer to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatens the civil rights of America." The right honorable, the Earl of Dunmore, governor of Virginia, at once dissolved that highly impertinent king-insulting assembly. The Virginians saw the clouds gathering in the east. But the storm in the west was howling at their door. They were prepared to take up arms for their political rights against the mother government, while they hastily made ready to fight for their proprietary rights against their hostile neighbors, the forest savages. The panic among the inhabitants along the river banks, and for a distance inland, had become terrible. The time to strike could not be delayed. Both red men and pale faces were spoiling for the fray.

When Dunmore learned of the failure of the surveying expedition of Colonel Angus McDonald, he authorized that brave soldier to raise a regiment and proceed into the country of the enemy and punish them. McDonald easily collected some four hundred militiamen, and crossing the mountains moved down the Ohio to the site of Wheeling, where he built Fort Fincastle, afterwards Fort Henry. In June he descended the Ohio to Captina creek, the scene of one of the late massacres, and there the men

debarking from their boats and canoes, made a dashing raid upon the Shawnee villages as far as Wappatomica, an Indian town on the Muskingum, near the present city of Coshocton.

The little army suffered many hardships, and encountered many perils. At times their only sustenance consisted of weeds and one ear of corn a day. Many villages and fields of crops were destroyed. The soldiers returned in a few weeks without serious loss. This forceful invasion of the Indian country was sufficient declaration of war, and produced a general combination of the various Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio.

Meanwhile the Virginians were girding up their loins. Governor Dunmore was awake to the situation. His actions have been both attacked and applauded. He is credited with moving promptly and zealously in defense of his colony; and in defiance of the policy and public promulgation of the sovereign powers concerning the inhabited Indian province. He is charged with using this opportunity, in view of the coming colonial revolt, to bring about a clash between the ferocious Indians and the strength and flower of Virginian soldiery that the onslaught might divert the attention of the colonists from the threatening rebellion against the mother country, and through the inhuman methods of the savage and the ensuing calamities and atrocities cause the Americans to pause in, if not positively desist from, their further procedure towards independence. The proof of his alleged treachery is not conclusive. His movements in this war were at times not above suspicion, and his subsequent proceedings were such as to add grave conjectures concerning his integrity. But Dunmore thus far seems entitled to the benefit of a doubt.[9]

[9] Even Lord Dunmore, that bitter enemy of the colonies and steadfast upholder of the British cause, ignored the western policy of the home government. His personal characteristics, love of money and of power, contributed to this end. "His passion for land and fees," says Bancroft, "outweighing the proclamation of the king and reiterated most positive instructions from the Secretary of State, he supported the claims of the colony to the West, and was a partner in two immense purchases of land from the Indians in southern Illinois." — Hinsdale's Old Northwest, p. 144. When the Revolutionary War broke out the Earl not only fought the revolted colonists with all legitimate weapons, but tried to incite the blacks to servile insurrection, and sent agents to bring his old foes,

In August the governor began his preparations and the plan for the campaign agreed upon. An army for offensive operations was called for. Dunmore directed this army should consist of volunteers and militiamen, chiefly from the countries west of the Blue Ridge, and be organized into two divisions. The northern division, comprehending the troops collected in Frederick, Dunmore (now Shenandoah), and adjacent counties, was to be commanded by Lord Dunmore in person; the southern division comprising the different companies raised in Botetourt, Augusta and adjoining counties east of the Blue Ridge, was to be led by General Andrew Lewis. The two armies were to number about fifteen hundred each; were to proceed by different routes, unite at the mouth of the Big Kanawha, and from thence cross the Ohio and penetrate the northwest country, defeat the red men and destroy all the Indian towns they could reach.

The volunteers who were to form the army of Lewis began to gather at Camp Union, the Levels of Greenbrier (Lewisburg) before the first of September. It was a motley gathering. They were not the king's regulars, nor trained troops. They were not knights in burnished steel on prancing steeds. They were not cavaliers' sons from luxurious manors. They were not drilled martinets. They were, however, determined, dauntless men, sturdy and weather-beaten as the mountain sides whence they

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the redmen of the forest down on his old friends, the settlers. He encouraged piratical and plundering raids, and on the other hand failed to show the courage and daring that are sometimes partial offsets to ferocity. But in this war, in 1774, he conducted himself with great energy in making preparations, and showed considerable skill as a negotiator in concluding the peace, and apparently went into the conflict with hearty zest and good-will. He was evidently much influenced by Connolly, a very weak adviser, however, and his whole course betrayed much vacillation and no generalship. — Roosevelt's Winning of the West, Part II; footnote under p. 14. These two objects (speaking of Dunmore's ulterior designs) were first, setting the new settlers on the west side of the Alleghany by the ears; and secondly, embroiling the western people in a war with the Indians. — Jacob's account of Dunmore's War, as quoted in Kercheval's Valley of Virginia, p. 160.

The above citations represent the opposite views taken of Dunmore's purposes. The better belief now coincides with such opinions as are expressed by Roosevelt and Hinsdale. — E. O. R.

came. They were undrilled in the arts of military movements, but they were in physique and endurance and power nature's noblemen, reared amid the open freedom and hardihood of rural life. The army as finally made up consisted of four main commands; a body of Augusta troops, under Colonel Charles Lewis, brother of the General; a contingent of Botetourt troops, under Colonel William Fleming; those commands numbered four hundred each; a small independent company, under Colonel John Field, of Culpepper; a company from Bedford, under Captain Thomas Buford, and two from the Holstein settlement under Captains Evan Shelby and Harbert. The three latter companies were part of the force to be led by Colonel Christian, who was likewise to join the two main divisions of the army at Point Pleasant as soon as the other companies of his regiment could be assembled.

The army started on September 8th in three divisions, the two under Colonel Charles Lewis and General Andrew Lewis, respectively, followed by the rather irregular and independent force under Colonel John Field. Colonel Christian's contingent left later, and portions of them did not reach Point Pleasant in time to engage in the battle, but Captains Shelby and Russell, with parts of their companies, hastened ahead and did valiant service in the engagement. It was a distance of one hundred and sixty miles from Camp Union to their destination at the mouth of the Kanawha. The regiments passed through a trackless forest so rugged and mountainous as to render their progress extremely tedious and laborious. They marched in long files through "the deep and gloomy wood" with scouts or spies thrown out in front and on the flanks, while axmen went in advance to clear a trail over which they would drive the beef cattle, and the pack-horses, laden with provisions, blankets and ammunition. They struck out straight through the dense wilderness, making their road as they went[10]. On September 21st they reached the Kanawha at the mouth of Elk creek (present site of Charleston). Here they halted and built dug-out canoes for baggage transportation upon the river. A portion of the army proceeded down the Kanawha,

[10] The country at this time, in its aspect, is one of the most romantic and wild in the whole Union. Its natural features are majestic and grand. Among the lofty summits and deep ravines, nature operates on

while the other section marched along the Indian trail, which followed the base of the hills, instead of the river bank, as it was thus easier to cross the heads of the creeks and ravines. Their long and weary tramp was ended October 6th, when they camped on Point Pleasant, the high triangular point of land jutting out on the north side of the Kanawha where it empties into the Ohio[11]. General Lewis was disappointed in not finding Governor Dunmore at the appointed place of meeting. Dunmore was far away. While the backwoods general was mustering his "unruly and turbulent host of skilled riflemen" the Earl of Dunmore had led his own levies[12], some fifteen hundred strong, through the mountains at the Potomac Gap to Fort Pitt. Here he changed his plans and decided not to attempt uniting with Lewis at Point Pleasant. Taking as scouts George Rogers Clark, Michael Cresap, Simon Kenton[12a] and Simon Girty, he descended the Ohio river with a

a scale of grandeur, simplicity and sublimity scarcely ever equaled in any other region, and never surpassed in the world. At the time of this expedition only one white man had ever passed along the dangerous defiles of this route. That man was Captain Matthew Arbuckle, who was their pilot on the painful and slow march. — Atwater's History of Ohio, p. 112.

[11] The site upon which the Virginia army encamped was one of awe-inspiring grandeur. Here were seen hills, valleys, plains and promontories, all covered with gigantic forests, the growth of centuries, standing in their native majesty unsubdued by the hand of man, wearing the livery of the season, and raising aloft in mid-air their venerable trunks and branches, as if to defy the lightning of the sky and the fury of the whirlwind. The broad reach of the Ohio closely resembled a lake with the mouth of the Kanawha as an arm or estuary, and both were, at that season of the year, so placid as scarcely to present motion to the eye. Over all, nature reigned supreme. There were no marks of industry, nor of the exercise of those arts which minister to the comforts and convenience of man. Here nature had for ages held undisputed sway over an empire inhabited only by the enemies of civilization. — Lewis's History of West Virginia, p. 121.

[12] Dunmore himself raised about a thousand men among the old Virginians east of the Blue Ridge for this expedition. With these men he marched by the old route in which Washington and Braddock had passed the Alleghenies. He marched up the Potomac to Cumberland, thence across the remaining mountains to Fort Pitt. Here procuring boats, he descended the Ohio river to Wheeling, where he rested several days, and concluded to change his mind. — Atwater's History of Ohio, p. 114.

[12a] Known at that time as Simon Butler.

flotilla of a hundred canoes, besides keel boats and pirogues, to the mouth of the Hockhocking, where he built and garrisoned a small stockade, naming it Fort Gower. Thence he proceeded up the Hockhocking to the falls, moved overland to the Scioto, finally halting on the north bank of the Sippo creek four miles from its mouth at the Scioto, and about the same distance east of Old Chillicothe, now Westfall, Pickaway county. He entrenched himself in a fortified camp, with breastworks of fallen trees, so constructed as to embrace about twelve acres of ground. In the center of this he built a citadel of entrenchments, in which he and his chief officers resided for special protection. This camp Dunmore named Charlotte, according to most authorities, in honor of the handsome queen of George III., but more likely the gallant governor called the camp Charlotte after his accomplished wife Charlotte, who was the daughter of the Earl of Galloway. While Governor Dunmore was thus engaged in the heart of the Ohio country Lewis was destined to strike the decisive blow on the banks of the Kanawha. On the ninth of October Simon Girty and probably two other messengers[18] arrived at Lewis's camp bringing the message from Lord Dunmore which bade Lewis join his lordship at the Indian towns on the Pickaway plains. General Lewis, deeply displeased at this change in the campaign, arranged to break camp that he might set out the next morning in accordance with his superior's orders. He had with him about eleven hundred men. His plans were destined to be rudely forestalled, for Cornstalk, coming rapidly through the forest, had reached the Ohio. The very night that Girty brought Lewis the message from Dunmore the Indian chief ferried his men across the river on rafts, a few miles above the

[18] Captain John Stuart says one of the governor's express messengers to Lewis at Pt. Pleasant on the 9th was McCullough.

Dunmore and his weaker force, after throwing up a fortification at the mouth of the Hockhocking, were permitted to march undisturbed to Sippo Creek, a tributary of the Scioto (near the line between Ross and Pickaway counties), and there, at his fortified camp (Charlotte), had received the submission of the Shawnees. Their messengers, suing for peace, had set out to meet him at the Hockhocking, whilst Cornstalk was executing his quick flanking stroke at the other wing. In skill and strategy, nothing superior to this had occurred in Indian warfare. — King's Ohio, p. 110.

Kanawha, and by dawn was on the point of hurling his whole force of savage braves on the camp of the slumbering Virginians. The great Shawnee chief, Cornstalk, was as wary and able as he was brave. He was chief of the Shawnees, and the head of the Indian tribes of Ohio now united against the whites. The Shawnees were a very extensive and warlike tribe. They were the proudest and the richest of Indian nations. They were the most populous of any of the tribes in Ohio, and they had, in the main, ever been the fierce foe of the whites, first against the French, then with the French against the British, and now goaded on by the late depredations upon their land and homes, and the recent massacre of members of their own and fellow tribes, they were aroused to the greatest warlike ferocity[14]. Cornstalk's army numbered about eleven hundred, practically the same as that of Lewis, and was composed of the flower of the Shawnee, Delaware, Mingo, Wyandot and Cayuga and minor tribes. The great General Cornstalk, sachem of the Shawnee and king of the northern confederacy, though in chief command, was aided by some of the most famous and skilled warriors of his race. Logan[15], Elenipsico, son of Cornstalk; Red Hawk, the Delaware chief; Scrappathus, a Mingo; Chiyawee, the Wyandot; Red Eagle, Blue Jacket, Packishenoah, the Shawnee chief and father of Tecumseh; his son Cheesekau, elder brother of Tecumseh. In no battle were there ever so many bold and distinguished braves. They were unaided

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[14] It was chiefly the Shawnees that cut off the British army under General Braddock, in the year 1755, only nineteen years before our battle (Pt. Pleasant), when the General himself, and Sir Peter Hackett, second in command, were both slain and a mere remnant of the whole army only escaped. It was they, too, who defeated Major Grant and his Scotch Highlanders at Fort Pitt in 1758, where the whole of the troops were killed and taken prisoners. After our battle they defeated all the flower of the first bold and intrepid settlers of Kentucky at the Blue Licks. There fell Colonel John Todd and Colonel Stephen Trigg. "The whole of their men were almost cut to pieces. Afterwards they defeated the United States army over the Ohio commanded by General Harmar. And lastly, they defeated General Arthur St. Clair's great army with prodigious slaughter." — Narrative of Captain John Stuart in the Virginia Historical Register, Vol. V, p. 187.

[15] Brantz Mayer, Cresap and Logan, p. 120, says Logan was not in the battle.

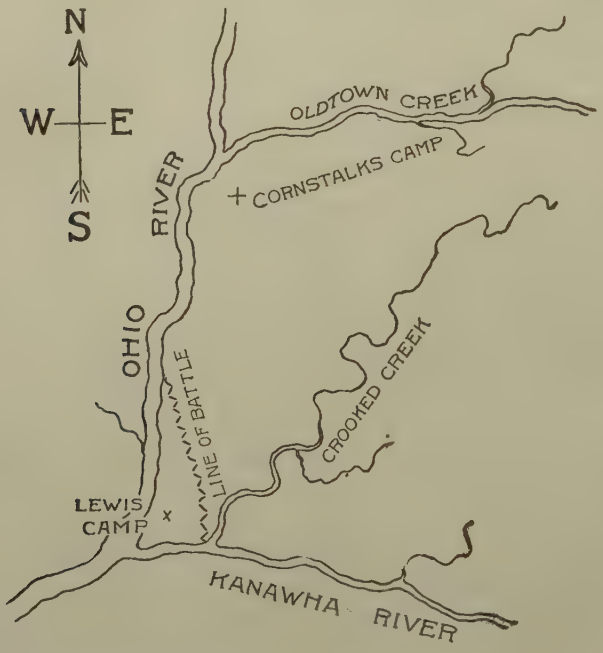
by French or English allies. Cornstalk had the craft of his race and the tact of a Napoleon. He saw his enemy divided. Lewis was at Kanawha; Dunmore on the Pickaway Plains. If Lewis's army could be surprised and overwhelmed, the fate of Lord Dunmore would be merely a question of days[15]. So Cornstalk, "mighty in battle and swift to carry out what he had planned, led his long file of warriors with noiseless speed, through leagues of trackless woodland to the banks of the Ohio." Stealthily and unannounced had Cornstalk arrived on the Virginia side of the Ohio banks below the mouth of Oldtown creek, which, parallel to the Kanawha, pours into the Ohio some three miles above the Kanawha point. Early on the morning of the tenth, just as the sun was peeping over the Virginia hills, two soldiers (Robertson and Hickman) left the camp and proceeded up the Ohio river in quest of game. When they had progressed about two miles they unexpectedly came in sight of a large number of Indians, just rising from their encampment, and who discovering the two hunters, fired upon them and killed one (Hickman); the other escaped unhurt and fled back to communicate the intelligence "that he had seen a body of the enemy covering four acres of ground as closely as they could stand by the side of each other."

General Andrew Lewis was a well seasoned soldier, alert and self-possessed in every emergency and an Irishman, quick-witted and full of fight. He had been schooled in Indian warfare for twenty years. He was major of a Virginia regiment at Braddock's defeat. He had served with Washington, who held him in the highest esteem. General Lewis "lighting a pipe," it is reported, coolly ordered the troops in battle array in the grey of early dawn. Colonel Charles Lewis with several companies was directed to move toward the right in the direction of Crooked creek. Colonel Fleming, with other companies, was instructed to proceed to the left up the Ohio. Lewis's force met the left of Cornstalk's column about a half mile from the Virginians' camp.

[15] But the earl was not quite so rapid in his movements, which circumstance the eagle eye of old Cornstalk, the general of the Indian army, saw, and was determined to avail himself of, foreseeing that it would be much easier to destroy two separate columns of an invading army before than after their junction and consolidation. — Kercheval, p. 172.

Fleming's command found the Indian right flank at a greater distance up the Ohio bank. Cornstalk's line of advance was more than a mile in front stretch, so drawn as to cut diagonally across the river point. By this tactic he had calculated upon pocketing General Lewis on the corner of the bluff between the Ohio and the Kanawha.

The first shock of the onslaught was favorable to the foe.



Colonel Charles Lewis made a gallant advance that was met by a furious response. The colonel was mortally wounded at almost the first fire of the enemy. He calmly marched back to the camp and died. His men, many of whom were killed, unable to withstand the superior numbers of the Indians at this point, began to waver and fall back. Colonel Fleming was equally hard pressed in his encounter. He received two balls through his left arm and one through his breast, urging his men on to victorious action he retired to the camp, the main portion of his line giving way.

General Lewis now began to fortify his position by felling timber and forming a breastwork before his camp. The fight was soon general, and extended the full front of the opposing armies. What a strange and awful scene was presented, one of mingled picturesque beauty and ghastly carnage on that October Monday morning. A host of forest savages, "a thousand painted and plumed warriors, the pick of the young men of the western tribes, the most daring braves between the Ohio and the great lakes" their brown athletic and agile bodies decked in the gay and rich trappings of war; their raven black hair tossed like netted manes in the fray as with glowering eyes and tense muscles they leaped through the brush and stood face to face with the white foe, the latter rigid with firm resolution and unwincing courage, fighters typical of the frontier; a primitive army equal in numbers to their assailants, heroes in homespun, and backwoodsmen in buckskin, clothed in fringed leather hunting shirts and coarse woollen leggings of every color; they wore skin and fur caps, and slung over their shoulders were the straps of the shot-bag and the strings of the powder-horn. Each, like his barbaric antagonist, carried his flint-lock, his tomahawk and his gleaming scalp-knife. For that tragic tableau, quaint and dramatic, nature never made a more magnificent or peaceful setting. The two lines grappled in deadly conflict on the peak of land elevated by precipitate banks high above the Ohio, which swept by in majestic width, joined by the Kanawha that noiselessly crept its way amid a forest and hill-framed valley. The Ohio heights fretted the sky to the west, and the Virginia mountains in the near eastern background were resplendent in the gorgeous drapery of early autumn. It was a landscape upon which nature had lavished her most luxuriant charms. It was a picture for the painter and the poet rather than the cold chronicler of history. No event in American annals surpasses this in the mingling of natural beauty and human violence. The brutal savage and the implacable Anglo-Saxon were to exchange lives by gory combat in the irrepressible conflict between their races.

It was nearly noon and the action was "extremely hot," says a participant. The Indians, who had pushed within the right line of the Virginians, were gradually forced to give way; the dense

underwood, many steep banks and fallen timber favored their gradual retreat. They were stubbornly but slowly yielding their ground, concealing their losses as best they could by throwing their dead in the Ohio, and carrying off their wounded. The incessant rattle of the rifles; the shouts of the Virginians, and the war whoops of the red men made the woods resound with the "blast of war." The groans of the wounded and the moans of the dying added sad cadence to the clash of arms. At intervals, amid the din, Cornstalk's stentorian voice could be heard as in his native tongue he shouted cheer and courage to his faltering men, and bade them "be strong, be strong." But their desperate effort did not avail, though exerted to the utmost[16]. No more bitter or fierce contest in Indian warfare is recorded. The hostile lines though a mile and a quarter in length were so close together, being at no point more than twenty yards apart, that many of the combatants grappled in hand-to-hand fighting, and tomahawked or stabbed each other to death. The battle was a succession of single combats, each man sheltering himself behind a stump or rock, or tree-trunk. The superiority of the backwoodsmen in the use of rifles — they were dead shots, those Virginia mountaineers — was offset by the agility of the Indians in the art of hiding and dodging from harm. After noon the action in a small degree abated. The slow retreat of the Indians gave them an advantageous resting spot from whence it appeared difficult to dislodge them. They sustained an "equal weight of action from wing to wing." Seeing the unremitting obstinacy of the foe, and fearing the final result if they were not beaten before night, General Lewis, late in the afternoon, directed Captains Shelby, Mathews and Stuart with their companies to steal their way under cover of the thick and high growth of weeds and bushes up the bank

[16] "I could hear him (Cornstalk) the whole day speaking very loud to his men, and one of my company, who had been a prisoner, told me what he was saying, encouraging the Indians, telling them to 'Be strong, be strong.'" —Stuart's Narrative, p 187.

Cornstalk and Blue Jacket, the two Indian captains, it is said, performed prodigies of valor; but finding at length all their efforts unavailing, drew off their men in good order, and with the determination to fight no more, if peace could be obtained upon reasonable terms. — Kercheval, p. 172.

of the Kanawha and along the edge of Crooked creek until they should get behind the flank of the enemy, when they were to emerge from their covert, move downward towards the river point, and attack the Indians in the rear. The strategic manoeuver thus planned was promptly and adroitly executed and turned the tide in favor of the colonial soldiers. The Indians finding themselves suddenly and unexpectedly encompassed between two armies and believing that the force appearing in the rear was the reinforcement from Colonel Christian's delayed troops, they were discouraged and dismayed, and began to give way. The appearance of troops in the rear of the Indians at once prevented the continuance of Cornstalk's scheme of fighting, namely, that of alternately attacking and retreating, particularly with his center, thus often exposing the advancing front of the Virginians to the mercy of the Indian flanks[17]. The skirmishing continued during the afternoon, the Indians though at bay making a show at bravado. But their strength was spent, and at the close of the day under the veil of darkness they noiselessly and precipitately retreated across the Ohio and started for the Scioto towns[18].

The battle of Point Pleasant was won. "Such a battle with the Indians, it is imagined, was never heard of before," says the writer of a letter printed in the government reports. But the day

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[17] Those acquainted with Indian tactics inform us that it is the great point of his generalship to preserve his flanks and overreach those of his enemy. They continued, therefore, contrary to their usual practice, to dispute the ground with the pertinacity of veterans along the whole line, retreating slowly from tree to tree, till one o'clock p. m., when they reached a strong position. Here both parties rested, within rifle range of each other, and continued a desultory fire along a front of a mile and a quarter until after sunset. — Chas. Whittlesey's Address on Dunmore War (1850).

[18] In the battle of the great Kanawha the Indians, though hardly defeated, were somewhat cowed by the prowess of the frontiersmen, which was now shown for the first time on a considerable scale. — Hosmer's Mississippi Valley, p. 71.

The Indians marched 80 miles through an untrodden wilderness, and on October 24 encamped on the banks of the Congo (Pickaway township, Pickaway county), near the chief Shawnee village of Old Chillicothe — now Westfall — on the Scioto, the headquarters of the Confederate tribes. — Howe's Ohio, Vol. III, p. 64.

was dearly bought. The Americans lost a fifth of their number, some seventy-five being killed or fatally wounded, and one hundred and forty-seven severely or slightly wounded. Among the slain were some of the bravest Virginian officers, including Colonels Charles Lewis, Major John Field, Captains Thomas Buford, John Murray, James Ward, Samuel Wilson, Robert McClannahan; and Lieutenants Allen, Goldsby and Dillon. The Indian loss was never definitely known[19]. They cunningly carried off or concealed most of their killed, and secretly cared for their wounded. They lost probably only half as many as the whites. About forty warriors were known to be killed outright, or to have died of their wounds. Of the number of wounded no estimate could be made. While the Virginians lost many officers, strangely enough among the Indians no chief of importance was slain, except Packishenoah, the Shawnee chief, and father of Tecumseh[20]. No "official report" of this battle was made, or if so, probably not preserved. The battle of Point Pleasant was the most extensive, the most bitterly contested, and fraught with the most significance of any Indian battle in American history[21]. It was purely a frontier encounter. The whites were colonial volunteers. The red men, the choice of their tribes, led by their greatest warriors. The significance of that battle was manyfold and far-reaching. It was the last battle fought by the colonists while subjects to British rule. It was the first battle of the Revolution. Whatever the exact understanding may have been between Lord Dunmore and the royal authorities, or between the Indians and the British powers, or whether there was any explicit understanding at all, that battle represented the

[19] "I believe it was never known that so many Indians were ever killed in any engagement with the white people as fell by the army of General Lewis at Point Pleasant." — Narrative of Captain John Stuart. It is fair to assume that the loss of the Indians was not far short of that sustained by the whites. — Drake's Tecumseh, p. 33.

[20] Drake's Life of Tecumseh, p. 33.

[21] All circumstances considered, this battle may be ranked among the most memorable and well-contested that has been fought on this continent. The leaders on either side were experienced and able, the soldiers skillful and brave. The victorious party, if either could be so called, had as little to boast of as the vanquished. It was alike creditable to the Anglo-Saxon and to the aboriginal arms. — Drake's Tecumseh, p. 33.

opening bloodshed between the allies of the British and the colonial dependents. Had Cornstalk been the conqueror of that contest the whole course of American events would doubtless have been otherwise than history records. The colonists would have been stunned to inaction by the blow of defeat, the fear of an extended and horrible Indian warfare on their western borders would have deterred them from entering upon a revolt against England's power. At any rate the Ohio and Mississippi valleys would most certainly have remained the great western province of the royal power, and the United States be but a strip east of the Alleghenies. The victory of General Lewis destroyed the danger in the west, and gave nerve and courage to the Virginians, who were the strength and sinew of the Revolutionary movement. England's fate lay in the balance in the battle of Point Pleasant, though no British soldier participated therein. America has no more historic soil than the ground of the Kanawha and Ohio point — reddened that October day by the blood of savage warriors and frontier woodsmen[22].

The Virginian victors buried their dead, and left the bodies of the vanquished to the decay of uncovered graves. General Lewis, leaving his sick and wounded in the camp at the Point, protected by rude breastworks, and with an adequate guard, crossed the Ohio (October 18) and began his march by way of the Salt Licks and Jackson to join Dunmore on the Pickaway Plains. When but a few miles from Dunmore's camp Lewis was met by a messenger from the earl informing him that a treaty of peace was

[22] Very many survivors of the battle of Point Pleasant became famous soldiers in the American Revolution and distinguished civilians in the United States Nation. We note a few by illustration: General Isaac Shelby, Governor of Kentucky, aid to General Harrison in War of 1812; Colonel William Fleming, Acting Governor of Virginia; General Andrew Moore, Senator from Virginia; Colonel John Steele, Commander of Washington's lifeguard in 1780; General George Matthews, Governor of Georgia and Senator from that state; and so through a long list of distinguished officials and heroes who were either officers or privates in the battle of Point Pleasant. Hale, in his Trans-Alleghany Pioneers, devotes a chapter to this subject, entitled, "Point Pleasant (battle) as a Developing Military High School." He gives a long list with brief biographies of those who fought in that contest, and were subsequently conspicuous for distinguished services to their country. — E. O. R.

being negotiated with the Indians and ordering him (Lewis) to return immediately to the mouth of the Big Kanawha. Lewis's men were flushed with success, and exasperated at their losses in the late battle and eager for revenge upon the red men, and the opportunity to crush their power and destroy their homes. Lewis

shared the feelings of his soldiers and refused to obey the order of Dunmore. He continued to advance until when on the east bank of the Congo near its juncture with the Sippo, he was met by the earl himself and the Indian chief White Eyes[23]. The earl

[23] "Captain Arbuckle was our guide. When we came to the prairie on Killicanic Creek we saw the smoke of a small Indian town, which was deserted and set on fire upon our approach. Here we met an express from the Governor's camp, who had arrived near the nation and pro-

explained the situation to Lewis, complimented his generalship, and the bravery of his men, stating there was no further need of advancement by his (Lewis's) division of the army. General Lewis, recrossing the Congo, encamped for the day, and then reluctantly commenced his return march to the Ohio, proceeding

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posed peace to the Indians. Some of the chiefs with the Grenadier Squaw (sister of Cornstalk) on the return of the Indians after their defeat, had repaired to the Governor's army to solicit terms of peace for the Indians, which I apprehend they had no doubt of obtaining. The Governor promised them the war should be no further prosecuted, and that he would stop the march of Lewis's army before any more hostilities should be committed upon them. However, the Indians, finding we were rapidly approaching, began to suspect that the Governor did not possess the power of stopping us, whom they designated by the name of the Big Knife men; the Governor, therefore, with White Fish (Capt. Stuart must mean White Eyes — E. O. R.) warrior set off and met us at Killicanic Creek and there General Lewis received his orders to return with his army, as he (Dunmore) had proposed terms of peace with the Indians, which he assured should be accomplished." — Narrative of Capt. John Stuart, as printed in Virginia Historical Register, Vol. V, p. 189.

The two divisions were now within a few miles of each other; for Lewis, disregarding the commands of his lordship, continued to advance until the Indians, fearful of the destruction of their towns and crops by the enraged men under his command, again applied to Dunmore, who went in person to Lewis's command, and persuaded him to halt his men and retire. To this, with great reluctance, he finally consented, as it was an abandonment of the sole object of the campaign — the destruction of the crops and towns of the Indians. — Hildreth, Pioneer History, p. 89.

The Ohio campaign of Dunmore brought upon him much angry criticism. Many of the border men felt as did Lewis, who was for carrying out the original revengeful program, regardless of Indian surrender or repentance. Dunmore's official conduct in connection with the colonial revolt made it easy in the earlier days to misconstrue his motives under circumstances calling for no such suspicion. That he had no other than humane and honorable designs in accepting the Indians' plea for peace, no longer appears probable. — Black's Story of Ohio, footnote under p. 70.

Before Dunmore reached the vicinity of the Indian towns he was met by a flag of truce and a deputy from the Indians, requesting for the chiefs an interpreter with whom they could communicate. He moved on to Camp Charlotte. Lewis marched on and encamped on the west side of the Congo Creek, about a mile and a half below where it enters into the Sippo. Dunmore, on the approach of Lewis and his army, sent

by the route he had come, to Point Pleasant. Meanwhile Cornstalk and his crestfallen warriors had reached the Pickaway Plains. The spirit of the Indians had been broken by their defeat; but the stern old chief, their commander, Cornstalk, remained with unshaken heart. He was still prepared to fight to the bitter

word to him to return, as he would settle the result with the Indians. Lewis refused to obey this order. Dunmore then went in person to enforce his orders. It is said Dunmore drew his sword upon Colonel Lewis. — Howe's Ohio Collections. This incident is another of the alleged suspicious movements of Dunmore, it even being charged that Dunmore wanted to keep the armies divided that they might fall a prey to the Indian attacks if renewed. Again, that he did not wish to overawe the Indians by the presence of the united forces, as he wished to conciliate the Indians and incur their favor with a view to their friendship in the coming revolution. — E. O. R.

Lewis encamped that night on the west side of Congo Creek, two miles above its mouth, and five and a quarter miles from old Chillicothe, with the Indian town half way between. The Shawnees were now greatly alarmed and angered, and Dunmore himself, accompanied by the Delaware chief, White Eyes, a trader, John Gibson, and fifty volunteers, rode over in hot haste that evening to stop Lewis and reprimand him. His lordship was mollified by Lewis's explanations, but the latter's men, and indeed Dunmore's, were furious over being stopped when within sight of their hated quarry; and tradition has it that it was necessary to treble the guards during the night to prevent Dunmore and White Eyes from being killed. The following morning (the 25th) his lordship met and courteously thanked Lewis's men for their valiant service; but said, that now the Shawnese had acceded to his wishes, the further presence of the southern division might engender bad blood. Thus dismissed, Lewis led his army back to Point Pleasant. — Thwaite's Note in Border Warfare, pp. 176–8, quoted by Safford in Ohio Arch. Hist. Pub., Vol. VII, p. 353.

That Earl Dunmore, the last royal Governor of Virginia, rendered himself excessively unpopular by ordering Lewis back is certain, and it hastened his final abandonment of the colony, when he fled to a British fleet for protection from his not very loving people. Whether his object, while at Camp Charlotte, was to make the Indians friendly to the British crown, and unfriendly to the colonists, in case of war between the two countries, which so soon followed this campaign, we can never know with absolute certainty. We are well aware, though, that General George Washington always did believe that Dunmore's object was to engage the Indians to take up the tomahawk against the colonists as soon as war existed between the colonies and England. So believed Chief Justice Marshall, as we know from his own lips. — Atwater's History of Ohio, p. 118.

end. He summoned a council over the situation, and in an eloquent address strove to goad on the braves to another campaign. They listened in sullen silence. Finally, finding himself unable to stir his braves to further battle, he struck his tomahawk into the war post and peremptorily declared, "I will go and make peace." He was as good as his word. With his retinue of fellow chiefs, some eight in number, Cornstalk proceeded to Dunmore's quarters within the entrenchments of Camp Charlotte. Here he made a prolonged and passionate plea for his people, reciting the wrongs inflicted by the whites, and the rights denied the red men[24]. Various parleyings ensued, the net conclusion of which was, the Indians agreed to give up all white prisoners and stolen horses in their possession, cease from further hostilities, and molestation of travelers down the Ohio and "surrender all claim to the lands south of the Ohio[25]."

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[24] The conference was commenced by Cornstalk in a long, bold, and spirited speech, in which the whites were charged with being the authors of the war by their aggressions on the Indians at Captina and Yellow Creeks — Drake, Tecumseh, p. 35.

Cornstalk was a truly great man. Colonel Wilson, who was present at the interview between the chief and Lord Dunmore, thus speaks of the chieftain's bearing on the occasion: "When he arose he was in nowise confused or daunted, but spoke in a distinct and audible voice, without stammering or repetition, and with peculiar emphasis. His looks while addressing Dunmore were truly grand and majestic, yet graceful and attractive. I have heard the best orators in Virginia — Patrick Henry and Richard Lee — but never have I heard one whose powers of delivery surpassed those of Cornstalk." — Stone's Life of Joseph Brant, Vol. I, p. 45.

[25] What the exact terms of that treaty were is not now fully known. No copy of the treaty can be found. — Drake's Tecumseh, p. 35. Both Burk and Campbell, in their respective Histories of Virginia, say peace was secured on condition that the lands "on this side of the Ohio" — meaning the south side — "should be forever ceded to the whites," etc. Butler (History of Kentucky), quoting the above terms, remarks (p. 10), "Such a treaty appears at this day (1834) to be utterly beyond the advantages which could have been claimed from Dunmore's expedition." Doddridge, in his notes, p. 237, says: "On our part we obtained at the treaty a cessation of hostilities and a surrender of prisoners, and nothing more." Whatever the terms of the treaty may have been, the results of the Dunmore war were most important. "It kept the northwestern tribes quiet for the first two years of the Revolutionary struggle; and

This agreement whatever its explicit text, was another step in the westward progress of the white invader. Cornstalk haughtily and disdainfully acceded to the terms of the whites. But there was one distinguished chief who was not at that council, and who had refused to be present. It was Logan. He declared that he was a "warrior, not a councillor, and he would not come." Logan was a splendid specimen of his race. He was chief of the Mingo tribe and his father, whom he succeeded, had been chief of the Cayugas. Up to the time of the Dunmore war Logan had been the friend of the white man. He took no part in the French and Indian war, except that of peacemaker. But when in the border troubles between the Indians and whites in the spring of 1774, Logan's relatives were massacred at the Yellow creek, as he supposed, by Cresap and party, Logan's rage became terrible. His character changed into all the revengeful and distorted hate and unrelenting ferocity of which the Indian nature is capable. From that moment for the rest of his life he was the inveterate and implacable foe of the white. He would not attend the peace council with Cornstalk. His influence with the Indians made it important that his concurrence be secured. Lord Dunmore, desiring his presence, sent John Gibson, afterwards general, a frontier veteran and one familiar with the Indian language, to urge the attendance of Logan. Taking Gibson aside, under the shade of a neighboring tree, Logan suddenly addressed him that famous speech which immortalized the chief and furnished a model of oratory for thousands of American school boys[26]. The speech is popularly supposed to have been delivered in Logan's native In-

above all, it rendered possible the settlement of Kentucky, and therefore the winning of the West. Had it not been for Lord Dunmore's war it is more than likely that when the colonies achieved their freedom they would have found their western boundary fixed at the Allegheny Mountains. — Roosevelt, Winning of the West, Part II, p. 33.

[26] "Gibson found Logan some miles off at a hut with several Indians, with whom he (Logan) talked and drank a while, and then touching Gibson's coat, stealthily beckoned him out of the house, led him to a solitary thicket, when, sitting on a log, he burst into tears and uttered some sentences of impassioned eloquence, which Gibson immediately committed to paper. As soon as the envoy (Gibson) had reduced the message to writing, it was read aloud in the council and heard by the soldiers." — Brantz Mayer's Cresap and Logan, p. 122.

dian tongue, and have been literally translated and written down in English by John Gibson, and so delivered to Lord Dunmore, who read it in open council to the Virginian army. However it may have been that speech is one of the great Indian classics. It has a wierd, pathetic strain, and is a poetic recital with a rhetorical charm not unlike the Greek chorus.

"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not? During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his camp, an advocate for

There is much dispute, of course, about the details of this historic incident. Some authorities assert Logan spoke fluently in English, which Gibson either wrote down on the spot or subsequently at Dunmore's camp. Again, it is related Logan could not speak English and delivered his "say" to Gibson in his native tongue, and that Gibson, who understood the Indian language, either took it down in translation or put it into English after returning to the camp of Dunmore. Jefferson's report of the speech in his Virginia notes created considerable controversy and led to the affidavit of John Gibson, which we give in the appendix. This affidavit does not show what language Logan used. Even if he could speak English, which is most probable, it is doubtful if he used such rhetoric as the "report" gives him. The English phraseology of the speech as read to Dunmore's army is most likely partially due to Gibson, the sentiment and thought without question are Logan's. — E. O. R. On this question see American Pioneer for January, 1842, and Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, Jefferson's Works, Vol. VIII, p. 309.

"While negotiations were going forward, the Mingo chief, Logan, held himself aloof. 'Two or three days before the treaty,' says an eye witness, 'when I was on the outguard, Simon Girty, who was passing by, stopped with me and conversed. He said he was going after Logan, but he did not like his business, for he was a surly fellow. He, however, proceeded on, and I saw him return on the day of the treaty, and Logan was not with him. At this time a circle was formed and the treaty begun. I saw John Gibson, on Girty's arrival, get up and go out of the circle and talk with Girty, after which he (Gibson) went into a tent, and soon after returning into the circle, drew out of his pocket a piece of clean, new paper, on which was written, in his own handwriting, a speech for and in the name of Logan.' This was the famous 'speech' about which there has been so much controversy. It is now well established that the version as first printed was substantially the word of Logan, but it is equally certain that he (Logan), in attributing the murder of his relatives to Colonel Cresap, was mistaken. Girty from recollection, translated the 'speech' to Gibson, and the latter put

peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as I passed and said, 'Logan is the friend of the white man.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace; but don't harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

This speech was a fitting epilogue to the close of the Dunmore war. The campaign had ended.[27] The camp was struck and the soldiers took up their march from the Pickaway Plains back to

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it into excellent English, as he was abundantly capable of doing." — Butterfield's History of the Girtys, p. 30.

That Logan delivered his speech in English, there is no reason to doubt, and that Mr. Jefferson called it a translation by mistake, is by no means strange. We will now adduce the affidavit of General Gibson (See Appendix for this affidavit — E. O. R.), which relates to the genuineness of the speech, in which he says that "Logan, after shedding abundance of tears, delivered to him the speech, and that on his return to camp he delivered it to Lord Dunmore" — not that he translated it for Lord Dunmore. Logan delivered it to him, he delivered it at camp, and no doubt both deliveries were in English. — American Pioneer (January, 1842), a monthly publication of the Logan Historical Society. The same is also authority for the statement (p. 5): "In an assemblage of pioneers and citizens from different parts of the Scioto Valley, at Westfall, in Pickaway county, July 28, 1841, Judge Corwin, of Portsmouth, a pioneer of the last century, in a short, impressive speech, stated, that from the best information he possessed, we are on or very near the spot where Logan, the Mingo chief, the Indian philanthropist and friend of the white man, delivered his celebrated speech, sent to Lord Dunmore creditable to mankind and honorable to him and his nation."

Popular tradition places the site of the delivery of Logan's speech under the famous Logan's elm on the Boggs farm, banks of the Congo, some three miles southeast of old Chillicothe, in which Logan's cabin was located. — E. O. R.

[27] The Dunmore war, so far from being a mere episode of the border, conquered the peace that opened Kentucky to settlement; and Kentucky in its turn not only made an impassable frontier barrier to protect the

the Ohio. When Dunmore's army arrived at Fort Gower at the mouth of the Hockhocking the soldiers learned for the first time of the action taken by the first Continental Congress, which had assembled at Philadelphia September 5, 1774. The officers of the army thereupon held a meeting and passed resolutions[28] to the effect, after complimenting the success of their general, that they professed allegiance to the king and crown, but added that "their devotion would only last while the king deigned to reign over a free people, for their love of liberty for America outweighed all other considerations, and they would exert every power for its defense when called forth by the voice of their countrymen." Strange scene, on the soil of Ohio, on the banks of the "beautiful river," Virginia frontiersmen celebrate their triumph over the western Indians by proclaiming their sympathy with colonial independence. That was six months before the shot was fired at Lexington that was "heard round the world."

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rear of the colonies during the Revolution, but also furnished the men and the leaders who subdued the savages of the Northwest, and finally broke the power of the British at the battle of the Thames in the War of 1812. — Moore's Northwest, etc., p. 194.

[28] For the resolution in full see Appendix B. to this article. — E. O. R.

APPENDIX A. AFFIDAVIT OF GIBSON CONCERNING LOGAN'S SPEECH.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY, STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, *ss.*:

Before me, the subscriber, a Justice of the Peace in and for said county, personally appeared John Gibson, Esq., an Associate Judge of same county, who being sworn, deposeth and saith, that in the year 1774, he accompanied Lord Dunmore on the expedition against the Shawnese and other Indians on the Sciota; that on their arrival within fifteen miles of the towns, they were met by a flag, and a white man of the name of Elliott, who informed Lord Dunmore that the chiefs of the Shawnese had sent a request to his lordship to halt his army and send in some person who understood their language; that this deponent, at the request of Lord Dunmore and the whole of the officers with him, went in; that on his arrival at the towns Logan, the Indian, came to where this deponent was sitting with the Corn-Stalk, and the other chiefs of the Shawnese, and asked him to walk out with him; that they went into a copse of wood, where they sat down, when Logan,

after shedding abundance of tears, delivered to him the speech, nearly as related by Mr. Jefferson in his Notes on the State of Virginia; that he, the deponent, told him then that it was not Colonel Cresap who had murdered his relations, and that although his son, Captain Michael Cresap, was with the party who killed a Shawnese chief and other Indians, yet he was not present when his relations were killed at Baker's near the mouth of Yellow Creek on the Ohio; that this deponent on his return to camp delivered the speech to Lord Dunmore, and that the murders perpetrated as above, were considered as ultimately the cause of the war of 1774, commonly called Cresap's War.

JOHN GIBSON.

Sworn and subscribed the 4th April, 1800, at Pittsburgh, before me.

JER. BAKER.

APPENDIX B. RESOLUTIONS OF DUNMORE'S SOLDIERS AT FORT GOWER.

[Taken from American Archives, 4th Series, Vol. I, p. 962.—E. O. R.]

Meeting of Officers Under Earl of Dunmore.—At a meeting of the officers under the command of his Excellency, the Right Honorable the Earl of Dunmore, convened at Fort Gower, November 5, 1774, for the purpose of considering the grievances of British America, an officer present addressed the meeting in the following words:

> "*Gentlemen*:—Having now concluded the campaign, by the assistance of Providence, with honor and advantage to the colony and ourselves, it only remains that we should give our country the strongest assurance that we are ready, at all times, to the utmost of our power, to maintain and defend her just right and privileges. We have lived about three months in the woods without any intelligence from Boston, or from the delegates at Philadelphia. It is possible, from the groundless reports of designing men, that our countrymen may be jealous of the use such a body would make of arms in their hands at this critical juncture. That we are a respectable body is certain, when it is considered that we can live weeks without bread or salt; that we can sleep in the open air without any covering but that of the canopy of Heaven; and that our men can march and shoot with any in the known world. Blessed with these talents, let us solemnly engage to one another, and our country in particular, that we will use them to no purpose but for the honor and advantage of America in general, and of Virginia in particular. It behooves us, then, for the satisfaction of our country, that we should give them our real sentiments, by way of resolves, at this very alarming crisis."

Whereupon the meeting made choice of a committee to draw up and prepare resolves for their consideration, who immediately withdrew, and after some time spent therein, reported that they had agreed to and prepared the following resolves, which were read, maturely considered, and agreed to, nemine contradicente, by the meeting, and ordered to be published in the Virginia Gazette:

Resolved, That we will bear the most faithful allegiance to His Majesty, King George the Third, whilst His Majesty delights to reign over a brave and free people; that we will, at the expense of life, and everything dear and valuable, exert ourselves in support of his crown, and the dignity of the British Empire. But as the love of liberty, and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defense of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges; not in any precipitate, riotous or tumultous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen.

Resolved That we entertain the greatest respect for His Excellency, the Right Honorable Lord Dunmore, who commanded the expedition against the Shawnese; and who, we are confident, underwent the great fatigue of this singular campaign from no other motive than the true interest of this country.

Signed by order and in behalf of the whole corps.

BENJAMIN ASHBY, *Clerk.*

THE LEBANON CENTENNIAL.

Oration of William H. Venable.

[Note—On Thursday, September 25, 1902, the people of Lebanon, Warren county, Ohio, held appropriate exercises celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of that time honored town. The exercises were held in the opera house, Mr John E. Smith acting as President. There were many distinguished speakers present who made addresses. Our space in this Quarterly will not permit of the extended report which we would like to make, but on account of its literary excellence and historic value we produce in full the oration of Professor Venable, the well known author and litterateur.— E. O. R.]

The loyal American citizen, whenever and wherever he may chance to hear the familiar words, "My Country, 'tis of three," thinks first of the United States; but the next moment his mind is thronged with thoughts of some particular state, of whose rocks and rills and woods and templed hills, his heart forever sings. Promptly his patriotism pays homage to Old Glory and his gratitude spells Nation with large capitals; then his state pride singles out the One from the Many-in-One. If he be an Ohio man, his imagination magnifies that lesser Commonwealth, until it takes up the entire map of his affections and the vast sky scarcely affords space for the big O he would inscribe upon its scroll. But the mighty State dwindles and fades when his returning footsteps eagerly bear him toward his unrivaled County, which then appears the only substantial portion of the globe's surface. Once within the borders of that blessed shire, the anxious native makes breathless haste to reach his own Township, to tread the soil and breathe the air of the district in which he went to school, to hasten through the hamlet so familiar to his boyish sports, to run, to fly shortcut across the meadow and down the lane, to rush in at the open door of the farm-house in which he was born and to take by surprise the old folks at home!

Obedient to a law of human attraction we assemble here today in social and fraternal reunion. We are at home. An irresistible influence of duty and love, such as draws the members of a scattered household to the family mansion and the maternal embrace, brings more than one stray child or foster child back to the lap of Lebanon, in these last days of September, 1902.

Lebanon! How pleasantly upon the ear falls the sound of the melodious, oriental word. There must have been a poetical strain in the sober-minded backwoodsmen who christened the town. The corporate seal which they ordered to be engraved as emblem, shows in its center, the semblance of a cedar, and we infer that whoever gave the place its name, had in mind the Asian mountain province whence Solomon and the Kings of Assyria hewed timber to build their temples and royal palaces. Perhaps piety rather than poesy may have prompted our forebears to fix Bible names upon the settlements they founded as upon the sons they begot. The roster of the worthies who sought the milk and honey of a new Promised Land in Warren county, reads like the list of the generations of the sons of Noah. I find in our early chronicles, Ichabod, Ephraim, David, Matthias, Isaiah, Benjamin, Samuel, Jacob, Israel, Joshua and Moses. Men who bore up under the weight of such nomenclature, were of the strength to lay the ax to the trees of the forest and to saw with saws the rock from the white quarries of Lebanon. The word Libanus, el Lebnan, means, to be white, like our limestone.

An eastern poet sang of the Syrian mount, "The winter is upon its head, the spring upon its shoulders, the autumn in its bosom, and at its feet slumbers the summer." Fortunately for agriculture, the hills of this neighborhood are not so high. Nature has here supplied all the conditions favorable to tillage and the delights of pastoral life, and no one will gainsay that modern Libanus, of Warren county, Ohio, is always beautiful, whether robed in snow, or smiling from her bower of April greenery, or aslumber in the glow of August,

or gazing out upon the gathered sheaves of her happy harvest fields.

Lebanon — urban yet rural, calm, conservative, dignified borough — teeming with historic associations, rich in a heritage of culture and eloquence, celebrated for social charm and amenity — we have assembled to commemorate her past achievement, to rejoice in her present prosperity, to predict her future success and affluence. To many of the men and women here congregated, the occasion has a personal and sacred interest. Lebanon is or was their home, the birthplace of their children, the burial place of their ancestors. We have come together to talk over the by-gone, to recount the annals of the village — scene of our struggles, triumphs, defeats — theatre of our loves and our sorrows — your town, my town, dear old Lebanon.

The gentlemen who drafted the centenary program, deemed it advisable "That there be but one, or at most, but few formal addresses, either by home speakers or orators from abroad" in the course of this celebration, and, as they have set apart a half day to be devoted to informal talks and reminiscences, by local speakers and visiting guests," historical details will not be expected in the general discourse to which the present hour is appropriated. Only the briefest sketch of the annals of the pioneers, will claim your attention.

Let no one imagine that the section of Hamilton county, from which Warren was carved, May 1st, 1803, was then a waste, howling wilderness or that the cabins found on the site of Lebanon in 1802, were the first houses built within the limits of the county. Though the town had its beginning in the Northwest Territory and is older than the state of Ohio, it was not located on terra incognita. The agricultural advantages of the Miami country were lauded by the early explorers who sounded the praise of the Kentucky Blue Grass region. Ever since Benjamin Stites, n 1787, invested his fortune in a farm of 30,000 acres, a portion of which took in the site of Lebanon; ever since John Cleves Symmes came from New Jersey, to spy out the rich domain which he afterwards purchased, a tract of 60,000 acres; ever since Daniel Boone, in

1778, was led captive by the Indians from Kentucky to Old Town, where Xenia now stands, and escaping tramped back through Miami Woods, to the Ohio, and finally to Boonsboro; ever since in 1752, now a century and a half ago, Christopher Gist, having traveled on horseback through what he calls the Mineami Valley, described the lands which he saw as the fairest and most fertile it was possible to conceive; nay, ever since English trapper or French trader had ventured, in 1749, to traffic with the Red folk on the Big Miami, exchanging face paint, gaudy calico and gay trinkets, for beaver skins, the tongue of rumor had reported to the ear of speculation, the potential wealth treasured in the soil of Southern Ohio.

No wonder that the pioneer, armed with ax and rifle, and carrying the surveyor's compass, anticipated the rapid spread of migration over the farmers' paradise lying between the two Miamis, and that, as soon as the smoke of Wayne's muskets and the curling fragrance from the peace pipes, at Greenville, had ascended from the woods to the sky, the block-house-builders came, and, "chopping out the night, chopped in the morn," raised cabins in the clearing, and, with mauls of knotted oak, drove into the ground the palisades of Bedle's station, Mounts' station, Deerfield, Franklin, and Waynesville.

In the period of seven years, from 1795 to 1802, the roughest of the rough work of preparing in the hunting ground of the savage a secure place of abode for civilized man, was largely accomplished. It was in that period that our forefathers, the founders of Lebanon, felled the lofty trees — not cypress and cedar, but walnut, oak, ash, hickory and poplar, of the magnificent forest through which Turtle creek wound its soitary way. The trees were cut down, their trunks became timber, the brush was burned, gardens were planted. In due course of progress, town lots were surveyed and platted on the lands of Ichabod Corwin, Silas Hurin, Ephrain Hathaway and Samuel Manning, and lo, Lebanon was.

And so it came to pass that when the ancient mound builders had vanished, and the Indian had sullenly departed, the Saxon moved in and took possession. The new town was organized, and all its activities, public and private, were con-

ducted in accordance with the ideas and usages prevailing in the best communities existing in the western settlements of the time.

Many of the original settlers were of Southern stock, from Virginia and Kentucky, others came from the Middle States; not so many were from New England. For the most part, they were an industrious, money-making, liberty-loving, king-hating, devout and large-hearted people. The men were fond of talking politics and dogmatic theology, being, as a rule, unequivocal partisans and strict sectarians. Some were Federalists and others anti-Federal, according as they worshiped Hamilton or Jefferson, but all were patriots and every voter regarded his ballot as a syllable of God's own voice. Some were Presbyterian, some Baptist, some Methodist, and however much they might wrangle over points of doctrine, or split on the subject of psalmody, all agreed that the Bible is true and that church membership is essential to good standing in society as well as to the soul's salvation.

Approving the spirit and letter of the Ordinance of 1787, which declares religion, morality and knowledge, necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, and that therefore schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged, the inhabitants of Lebanon have always held good teachers in high esteem. This is a suitable occasion on which to recall the name and to honor the memory of that apostle of culture and law, Francis Dunlevy, who, after having assisted in establishing the first school in Cincinnati, was induced to remove to Lebanon, where, within a hut of notched logs and under a clapboard roof, he taught and trained ambitious boys to become eminent men, and influenced aspiring girls to develop the sweetest graces and perform the highest duties belonging to the educated woman. Dunlevy was as a voice of one crying in the wilderness and making straight the path for the long line of devoted teachers who have continued the work he began. Lebanon may justly pride herself on account of her Union School and her Normal University, her bead-roll of illustrious educators and the record of scholars she has sent forth to do service in many fields of intellectual labor.

Ohio boasts that her schools actually do fit men and women for practical life. The truth is grandly expressed in the words of the great American poet, Kinney, himself an Ohio man, nurtured in Warren county. In his noble Centennial Ode, read in the State house at Columbus, in 1888, he sings exultantly the glory of our common schools.

"A hundred years of Knowledge! We have mixt
More brains with Labor in the century
Than man had done since the decree was fixt
That Labor was his doom and dignity.
All honor to those far-foreworking men
Who, as they stooped their sickles in to fling,
Or took the wheat upon their cradles' swing,
Thought of the boy, the little citizen
There gathering sheaves, and planned the school for him,
Which should wind up the clockwork of his mind
To cunning moves of wheels and blades that skim
Across the fields and reap, and rake, and bind!
They planned the school — the woods were full of schools?
Our learning has not soared, but it has spread;
Ohio's intellects are sharpened tools
To deal with daily fact and daily bread
The starry peaks of knowledge in thin air
Her culture has not climbed, but on the plain,
In whatsoever is to do or dare
With mind or matter, there behold her reign."

It is this mixing of brain with labor and with definite, indomitable purpose that has made Ohio men proverbially successful. The thinking student, having, by the mastery of knowledge, made a complete man of himself can do a man's duty in any sphere, can make a living, can make money, can make machines, speeches, books, can find the road to Washington, can lead armies, can materialize and mobilize Ohio ideas into deeds.

By virtue of this education which really educates, were developed the latent power of such statesmen as John McLean and Governor Morrow; such judges as Collett and Probasco and Smith; such journalists as Mansfield and Scott; such orators as Corwin and Ward; such an actor as Murdoch; such a poet as Coates Kinney. These and many more other men of genius and

great achievement, were, by birth or adoption, sons, not only of the Buckeye State, but of Warren county, and their fame is associated with the renown of Lebanon.

Some of my hearers may remember that, at the head of the first page of a Warren county newspaper, there used to stand the somewhat invidous couplet:

> "The Western Star is issued forth,
> From Lebanon, the seat of worth."

There may be those resident outside of the county capital who would now take exception to the phrase *"the* seat of worth," and would amend the article so as to read *a* seat of worth. Perhaps some one cherishes the secret conviction that Waynesville is the true emporium of the county; another feels sure that Franklin is the banner town — or Mason, or Morrow, or South Lebanon, or Maineville, or Harveysburg. For my own part, I consider Ridgeville to be the one really great metropolis of the shire. But no one can be found in any of the eleven townships, from Woodville to Carlisle, from Mount Holly to Socialville, who will refuse to grant that Lebanon holds the political primacy in our local republic. Lebanon is our Washington on the Potomac. Every voter has a certain interest at stake and a certain responsibility in the court house — possibly in the jail. He may have business with the commissioners, the probate judge, the recorder, the auditor, the treasurer. Therefore, and for other reasons, he is apt to jump into his buggy, on Saturday, and drive over to Leb. to look after his various business fences, criticise things in general and inquire into the political situation. There is a necessary interdependence between the people of the county seat and those who live in the surrounding villages and upon the farms. In celebrating this anniversary we celebrate not only the town of Lebanon but the county of Warren. The occasion invites us all to exchange reminiscences, and to contribute for the general pleasure such experiences and observations as appertain to the locality. Life is made up of little things and history is grateful for every authentic fact, however trivial or fragmentary.

My own recollections of Warren county run back to the days of my early boyhood. Many a time I came from my home, in

Clearcreek township, to Lebanon, in a wagon or by stage coach, many a time on foot. Often my father took me through Lebanon with him as he drove to or from Shakertown, whither we went in spring or autumn to buy young fruit trees. Starting from the farm, our adventurous chariot, regardless of mud or dust, rolled on, bearing us through renowned Utica or remoter Pekin, cities I have read of in Olney's Geography, and which, before I had seen them I half expected would burst on my view shining

> "With gilded battlements conspicuous far,
> Turrets and terraces and glittering spires!"

but which, alas for childish illusion, appeared, when seen, no more magnificent than Merittsville or Minktown. Occasionally my father's affairs required him to extend an excursion as far as to the Green Tree, the Blue Ball, or even to the Red Lion, wayside hostelries each identified by its painted sign, a tree intensely green, a ball vividly blue, a lion redder than a cardinal's gown. These pictured boards continued to flaunt and swing in the wind long after the proprietors of the Indian Chief, the Golden Lamb and the Bull's Head, in Lebanon had taken down their sign and quit business. It was in the parlor of the Bull's Head that Eng and Chang, the Siamese Twins, gave a reception once upon a time. For all roads ran to Lebanon. Lucky the thorp, on the grange which was close by the pike.

The country folks used to go to the "seat of worth" to purchase dry goods and groceries from James K. Hurin, from Boake and Hardy or from Noble and Lewis. We never missed a county fair. I well remember one of those competitive shows, at which I was elated as only a small boy can be, by receiving a cash premium of one silver dollar for the finest exhibit of dahlias.

At a period somewhat later, when I, like all Ohio boys, began to take a zealous interest in the Spread Eagle, the Goddess of Liberty, the Scales of Justice, and the like, I frequently found my way to Lebanon, to witness some exciting trial in the court room, or to attend a political mass meeting for the purpose of seeing and hearing some distinguished speaker — Ewing or Chase, or Stanton, or Schenck, or Campbell or the incomparable Cor-

win. I count among the most intense pleasures of my life that of listening to Corwin address a crowd from a platform. No other orator disputed his pre-eminence. He never needed to win an audience; his auditors surrendered in advance, pressing eagerly to the front, so as not to lose a word or a gesture. The boys of all ages, understood and relished the utterances of him they fondly called Tom.

His witticisms were repeated in parlor and kitchen, in every hotel and barn, and in the school yard where lads, spinning tops or wrangling over a game of marbles, mixed with their jargon quips and epigrams from Corwin.

Lebanon was a power house charged with political electricity. Every man was a dynamo. Hot wires conducted the current to various stations in the county. Even the boys and girls were rabid Whigs, Democrats or Freesoilers. Violent personal journalism was much in vogue in the eighteen-forties and fifties. Every city and village boasted at least one bellicose editor. I suppose there are many persons in Lebanon who remember the veteran newspaper man, Wm. H. P. Denny, for many years proprietor of the "Western Star," to which he gave the motto, "Be just and fear not." Dear, amiable, portly, keen-eyed Wm. H. P. Denny! I can fancy I see him in the printing office, his shirt sleeves rolled up, his white, small hands a little inky, a goose quill pen stuck over his ear, as he stands beside the press ready to pull the lever! That goose quill dripped Whig vituperation, that press stamped ignominy upon locofocoism. But the man was as gentle as he was valiant. Denny was one of the first who had a home on the Floraville side of the creek, in the aristocratic quarter, though no man was more democratic, more social, more hospitable than he. His house was that of a St. Julian, his board instead of groaning, laughed under its festal load.

Lebanon! Lebanon before the war — she was Athens and Rome to my unsophisticated, bucolic fancy. The county capital, that was a place worth going to see. There one might behold the court house, with its tall, red spire; the prison with its barred windows; the fine churches, the bank, the stylish stores, the big hotel, and Tom Corwin's house with the brass knocker on the door!

You might have your daguerreotype taken in Lebanon, by Mr. Vanneman, who had been a major in the Mexican war, and whose sword and plumed helmet hung on the wall of his studio. Or you might have your portrait painted by Marcus Mote, whose name and diminutive size were in artistic correspondence with the miniatures he delighted to make. If you wanted to read, you could find a very respectable library at the Mechanic's Institute; or you could obtain the latest literature of Ira Watts at his book store, connected with the postoffice. We had lectures in Lebanon, and "revivals," and debates and concerts and theatricals, and now and then an elocutionary entertainment by Robert Kidd. Once in a while there came to town a meritorious panorama — Frankenstein's Niagara, for instance, and a most interesting canvas, illustrating Kane's Arctic Explorations.

The old Warren county canal began or ended in Lebanon. I have a dim memory, a shadow picture, of a ruinous canal boat, lying at rest on its stagnant waters. The reservoir, an artificial lake, remained, a thing of beauty, long after the canal had been abandoned. Delightful recollections of the old "Reser" linger with me — recollections of swimming, skating, rowing; of duck-shooting on "Goose Island," of moonlight strolls along the border of the still lagoon and of sentimental talk subdued by the roar of the "tumbles" where the water overflowed down rocky steps.

It seems but yesterday when the South Western Normal Schools was organized in the brick Acadamy, and I now solemnly confess, after the lapse of more than forty years, that however much the charm of prospective education attracted me to the Seminary, I was even more enchanted by the bewitching and bewildering company of Lebanon girls who flocked to the assembly hall. Tennyson's "Dream of Fair Women" was indeed but a dream in comparison with that "sober certainty of waking bliss." No wonder that aspiring young fellows came racing from all parts of the Buckeye state, smitten with a sudden passion for learning, and that some of them were a long time in finishing their elective courses in the "Normal."

Several events of local interest took place in Lebanon within the period of five years, from 1855, when the Normal School was started, to 1861, when the breaking out of the Civil War

wrought so many changes. I witnessed the dedication of Washington Hall, in December, 1856, an occasion on which the young people enjoyed themselves intensely, especially on the evening of the Firemen's ball. They "danced all night, till broad daylight, and went home with the girls in the morning."

The scenes of gaiety which signalized the opening of our first public hall, were in strong contrast with the serious but dramatic proceedings held on the same floor on the evening of April 16, 1861, the day after Lincoln sent out his call for volunteers, and four days after the bombardment of Sumter. I shall never forget that meeting. It was a gathering of men some in the flower of youth, others verging on four score, but the oldest felt young and the youngest suddenly grown mature was eager to prove his manhood by relinquishing all that youth values most — ease, pleasure, home — to take upon him the soldier's burden, to fight, and if need be, to die for the Union. Durbin Ward made a brief terse speech, eloquent for its simplicity. He was the first man in the congressional district, to enlist. A paper which he had drawn up, pledged those who signed it to the service of their country. This paper was passed from hand to hand, and many names were written upon it. There was no noise, no shouting, the still white heat of patriotism consumed all smoke of outward demonstration. The meeting was solemn throughout, and at its close, the audience dispersed as quietly as a congregation leaving a church after listening to an impressive sermon.

Only a week elapsed from the date of the Washington Hall summoning until the day of the departure from Lebanon of the company of volunteers commanded by Captain Rigdon Williams. Hundreds of citizens — men, women and children — assembled in front of the Lebanon House to bid the boys farewell. A sword was presented to the captain and the banner to the company. A parting benediction devoted the young soldiers to a sacred cause and to the care of God, and they marched away.

There may be, today, in the village, possibly in this hall, some one who, then a youth, stood in the ranks of that company, on that spring morning, twice twenty years ago. Now, perchance, a scarred veteran, he wears upon his lapel a tiny, unos-

tentations button the badge of the G. A. R. We take off our hats to him.

Let us no longer dwell upon reminiscences of

> "Old, unhappy, far-off things,
> And battles long ago,"

nor cling over fondly to memories however pleasing, of what has been or might have been. Too much retrospection clouds the prophetic eye, and checks the ardor of resolve. Leave it to old men to dream dreams of past struggle and victory; the young shall see visions of coming enterprise and glorious achievement. "The world belongs to them who come the last." The volume of the century is closed. What shall be written in the book of the next hundred years? What shall be attempted, what accomplished, by those who are to continue the work thus far carried on? We march to the music of the future. What is Lebanon to become? The question appeals not to one village only, but to all the cities and towns of the state and Nation. Ohio alone has at least seventy municipalities of more than five thousand inhabitants each, and eight hundred smaller towns. Progress is relative. Some places have advanced, others have stood still, others have fallen behind. So it has been, so it shall be. Which shall decline and die? Which flourish and increase?

Our Saxon ancestors worshiped the god Wish, who, they believed, could give them all they longed for. Whatsoever the people of this or that particular place really and earnestly desire, that they may possess, provided they all will and work with the wish. Solon, when asked if he had devised the best possible laws for a certain Greek city, replied: "Yes; the best laws they are prepared to receive; the best they can appreciate and enforce." The wise Solon saw that so long as the citizens remain inert, apathetic, the law giver cannot much help them. There is a noble discontent which sometimes stirs a community to great action. Some persons are fatally satisfied with things as they are. They say, "Let us alone! Don't bother us with agitating thoughts! A little more sleep and a little more slumber, and a little more closing of the eyes in sleep!" These good, inoffensive

drowsing citizens had best rouse up, or some automobile may run over them. They should heed the pithy slang of the strenuous time, and "get a move on them." First, the desire, then the resolution, then the action. Though the will be the father to the deed, the will is not the deed. Hercules attended to the prayer of the Roman warrior, who begged for sword in hand, and fought while he implored the divine aid.

When Socrates was pleading with the Athenians for his life, he said: "I would have you know that if you kill such a one as I am, you will injure yourselves more than you will injure me. For if you kill me you will not easily find another like me who, if I may use such a ludicrous figure of speech, am a sort of gadfly, given to the state by the God; and the state is like a great and noble steed who is tardy in his motions owing to his very size, and requires to be stirred into life. I am that gadfly which God has given the state, and all day long and in all places I am always fastening upon you, arousing and persuading and reproaching you!"

Socrates was one of those conscientious citizens who tried to convince and persuade his fellow townsmen; he strove to make them see and understand what would be best for the public in the long run, and to act accordingly. Always and everywhere there will be more or less need for such gadflies. Sometimes they are regarded as a nuisance, as was Socrates. They may come in the disagreeable guise of the kicker and the crank. But they come also as philosophers and seers, though not always recognized as such by the world.

The subject of municipal government for the cities and villages of Ohio has been thoroughly discussed during the last three months. The Nash code has given rise to endless debate. We have heard and read much about boards, charters, home rule, the federal plan, the merit system, and the related powers of the legislative, the judicial and the executive department. Laws and ordinances are not self-operative; they are only convenient instruments which human intelligence may apply in the management of public affairs. There is perennial truth in Pope's maxim, "Whate'er is best administered, is best." Wise men will conceive wise measures; good men will give good service. Call the wisest

and best to take charge of those responsible offices on which the common welfare depends. Every councilman and every executive ought to be "spotless and fearless" — his reputation not only above reproach but above suspicion. Does this sound trite? sentimental? visionary? The voter's duty — if there be such thing as duty, such function as independent balloting — was and is and shall be to select and elect none other than high class men — letter A, number 1 citizens for members of council, for mayor, clerk, treasurer, marshal, street commissioners, solicitor and trustees of public affairs. Select them, elect them, then encourage, support, honor and audit them with eternal vigilance.

Municipal perfection is unattainable, but prudent and persistent effort may create a village approximately ideal. We conceive of such a village, so located, so situated, platted, graded, drained, lighted, shaded, as to meet every requirement of modern sanitary science. Every street, lot and building within the corporate limits will be so clean that no pestilential microbe can find inducement to move into town. Not a neglected vault, malarial pool or foul alley, breeding possible infection, will be found on public or on private property. Plants for the disposal of sewage and garbage will not be lacking; perhaps public opinion will demand the erection of a crematory, and certainly a hospital will segregate the victims of contagion and provide for all who may suffer from bodily accident or disease.

The model town will be healthful, but not only that — it will be convenient and in every way conducive to comfort. Houses will be so built and so furnished and provided as to afford body and spirit the true delights of home. The smoke nuisance will be abated. There will be appliances by which rooms are cooled in summer and warmed in winter.

The trustees of public affairs will see to it that the latest and best inventions for saving the people's money, time and energy will be adopted. They will economize by providing, with business sagacity, the most approved system for supplying what the village demands and is willing to pay for.

The water works will work; the sprinkling carts will sprinkle; and the fire engines will put out the fire. The street cars will run according to promise on the schedule and there will be no

abandoned rusty tracks and forlorn wires deluding the stranger into the fallacy that where there is a line there must be a trolly. The wheels will spin along the avenues of our village and the electric lamps will shine like fixed stars not like fitful lightning bugs.

Every village which expects to live and grow must foster industries of some description; must produce something which the world wants, whether from farm, factory, studio or school.

A town can not prosper without the assistance of wide-awake business men. Not only the commercial traveler, but the uncommercial traveler, hates to strike a sluggish town in which there is no activity of trade. Look in at the stores, the banks, and see whether the town is prosperous. Stop at the hotel and ask of the drummer what he thinks; he knows better than any one else that such and such a place is forging forward, or at a standstill, or going backward.

Rapid transit — ready and cheap transportation — are imperatively demanded by the necessities of the age. When trains fly from New York to Chicago in sixteen hours, nobody will choose to spend half a day in getting from his farm to the county-seat. The inhabitants of our well regulated, industrious, enterprising village — with its up-to-date methods of trade and travel, will not be satisfied with only the utilities; they will recognize a virtue in pleasure and will so provide, especially for the benefit of the young that no one need go away from home to seek recreation and amusement. The old acetic idea is exploded — the idea that all gaiety and sport should be relegated to Satan and his crew. The voice of religion and morality, in these modern days, advocates joyful living as a means of reforming evil. The argument is that since people will try to enjoy themselves, in one mode or another, in a bad way and a bad place, if no better are provided, the philanthropist should endeavor to make the innocent pleasures more attractive than the vicious and guilty ones.

The men, women and children of the town and vicinage we are picturing, will take pride in calling attention to their gymnasium, ball grounds, tennis courts and golf links, as well as to their libraries, lecture halls, schools and churches. They will be

aware that the world is astir with genial pursuits, and that emulation "pongs" to the "ping" of example. If the young folks of Tipville can have a nice country club, why can not the young folks of Toptown? If the band plays every Saturday for the people in Ashburg Park, why may there not be concerts in the public square at Oakbury? These will not interfere with the Chautauqua Summer School, nor with the services of the Salvation Army. Many varied notes harmonize to make life "one grand, sweet song."

People of refinement receive much pleasure and much pain through the sense of sight. They delight in the beautiful and abhor the ugly. The municipal improvement league of the town we are talking about will make war on whatever is hidious or revolting to good taste. Disfiguring bill boards will be hacked down. Ramshackle buildings and fences will not be tolerated. The man who suffers his property to deteriorate, his gutters to clog with slime, his yard to be overgrown with weeds or littered with rubbish, is to be frowned upon and regarded as obnoxious to censure. The village, instead of presenting to the eye anything unsightly, will delight the beholder by its variety of graceful forms and enchanting colors. Every street will afford a lovely vista. There will be charming driveways and walks, fair lawns and flowering gardens, choice shade trees and clambering vines. A pervading sentiment will encourage architects to follow their best lights and never compel them to outrage the principles of art. Piety will shrink from dedicating to God a sanctuary such as Lowell calls a "contract sham, with vaulted roofs of plaster painted like an Indian squaw." The holiness of beauty shall be regarded as in complete harmony with the beauty of holiness.

Behold the not impossible village of the future, the consummation of the hope of the social economist and the dream of the reformer. The lot of those who are shaping the destiny of the town we celebrate is cast in pleasant places. Years ago, a discriminating traveler from England, the distinguished Canon Farrar, declared that in no other part of the world had he observed conditions better suited to promote human happiness than those prevailing in many of the towns in the state of Ohio. Not in the vast and crowded cities, not in the remote and inaccessible ham-

lets did this foreign sojourner find civilization at its best, but in the smaller cities and larger villages of our own Buckeye commonwealth. Assuming that his judgment was correct, we surely have cause for self-congratulation, and we may well thank Divine Providence that the lines are fallen unto us in a region so favored.

A prophet of old rejoiced, even with joy and singing, in the excellency of Carmel and Sharon, and in the glory of Lebanon. The fertile plain of Sharon now lies waste. Carmel is a desolate ruin. Yet thriving villages still smile amid gardens of the date and the olive on Mount Lebanon, where patient husbandry has sustained organized communities, for at least three thousand years. If such survivals are possible in Asia, under the oppression of every species of Oriental misrule, what may not we hope for our young, free-born, untrammeled town, alive with fresh blood from the very heart of the New World? We predict for our Lebanon a destiny desirable and glorious beyond the augury of dream of any ancient seer or modern bard of Eastern lands. We rejoice, but not with the selfish, vain glory of jealous provincialism. We are proud of Ohio; Ohio is a flourishing branch on the tree America. We love Lebanon; Lebanon is a fair blossom on the vigorous bough. The rich sap of modern civilization, derived from all ages and all countries, feeds the roots of the tree. Here and now, in this village of happy memories and glad omens, we renew our faith in self-government, in human progress, in the essential rightness of the spirit of the age, in the ultimate of the true, the good and the beautiful.

SHAKER MISSION TO THE SHAWNEE INDIANS.

By J. P. MacLean, A. B., Ph. D.

INTRODUCTION.

It is but a slight exaggeration to state that the aborigines of this country have been made the objects of conversion from all the religious sects that have found a domicile within our borders. Under the civilizing influence of the dominant exotic race the American savage has constantly gone down. It is not the fault of Christianity, nor of the civilization of the nineteenth century, but in the application. The missionary in his zeal has mistaken both ethnology and his calling. It required Christianity five hundred years to civilize the Norsemen. Wandering tribes neither jump into civilization nor Christianity. Both require generations of constant instruction. It is exceedingly difficult to overcome that hereditary disposition to revert to an original savage condition. The Jesuits, who had a peculiar faculty of adapting themselves to the manners, conditions, and habits of thought of the American savages, made but a slight impression on their dusky subjects. Whatever failure made by one sect, has been of little result to another. The same old methods constantly applied which previous failures experienced. It may be affirmed that the methods applied have been more in the nature of a persecution than in an elevation. The study of ethnology would have been of greater benefit and the chagrin of disappointment might have been avoided by utilizing this science.

The history of the various types of mankind demonstrates that the various conditions operate differently. The Esquimo has discovered that the kyack is the proper boat for his pursuit of food and raiment. The conditions force out that which is necessary to maintain the struggle for existence. The habits of life more or less govern mental acquirements. These and

other considerations must enter into the conclusions that form intelligent conception of advancing the status of any tribe or type.

The American savage is a debased creature, prone to take up the vices of the white man, and, in his original condition, incapable of penetrating the exalted conception of life as expounded by Jesus Christ. He is a being requiring many generations of culture before fully comprehending the ethical qualities propounded in the New Testament.

If the large or powerful sects spend a part of their energy in missions to degraded tribes, it is not to be wondered at that the weaker denominations should imitate the example. That the Shakers, always noted for the paucity of their number, should waste their energy in such a fruitless enterprise as a mission to the savages, commands a different view than that necessarily accorded to other isms. Shaker theology and sociology radically differ from all other types of Christinaity. It may be affirmed that Shakerism contains no phase but may be elsewhere found among Christians; yet it must be noticed that it combines more peculiar features than can elsewhere be discovered. The Shakers have more perfectly approached the teachings of Jesus and his Apostles than any other of the organized bodies of believers. On the other hand the nature of the Indian is largely animal. He is where the ancestors of the white man were many thousands of years ago. To expect an Indian to lay aside his brutal nature and take upon himself the life of a Shaker, requires a credulity too vast even to contemplate.

Shakerism in 1807 was practically in its infancy. In the west it was only in the third year of its existence. It was five years later before it was organized into church relationship. The people, for the most part, lived at Union Village, in log houses. The first frame dwelling-house was not completed until October, 1806, and that was built for the Elders. However, the leaders of Shakerism at Union Village were alive to what they apprehended were the needs of humanity, and were ever ready to drop seed on whatever appeared to be good soil. They were not far removed from the Indians, and any religious commotion among the latter would necessarily attract their attention. In the simplicity of their hearts they believed that the subtle, treacherous,

ferocious and diabolical savage could be transformed into a gentle, non-resistent, God-fearing and man-loving celibate.

KENTUCKY REVIVAL AND INDIANS.

During the "Great Kentucky Revival" of 1800 and 1801, the Indians received the attention of the awakened and zealous. Fervent prayers were offered up that the Indians might also share in the blessed hope and joyful anticipation of the future state; and missionaries were repeatedly sent out from among the subjects of the revival, to convert them to the Christian faith, but with little success. In the fall of the year 1804, a great number of savages, belonging to different tribes, assembled together and held a feast of love and union, and during their conclave danced and rejoiced before the Great Spirit, with the purpose of reviving the religion of their ancestors. The fame of the meeting was wafted to the whites, among whom were those who queried whether God would convert them in some way different from what had hitherto been employed.

During the year 1805 fresh reports broke out concerning the Indians, which affirmed that a large body of them was moving down the western border of Ohio, and were about to form a settlement. The rumors caused much agitation concerning them. Some proclaimed that the movement presaged war, while others affirmed that they were in pursuit of religion and the means of an honest livelihood; that they intended to labor, and in their present circumstances the neighboring whites were supporting them by charitable donations.

SHAKER PROPAGANDA.

The continuance of the various reports, concerning the movements and condition of the Indians, created much anxiety among the Shakers at Union Village (then called Turtle Creek). It was determined to direct a missionary body to proceed to the Shawnee Indians, then living at Greenville, in order to find out the real situation, both in respect to things temporal and spiritual. The persons selected were David Darrow, Benjamin Seth Youngs and Richard McNemar.

David Darrow, who was born June 21, 1750, and died June 27, 1825, has been sketched in my article on the Shakers of Union Village in the QUARTERLY for June, 1902, and need not here be repeated.

Benjamin Seth Youngs was born September 17, 1774. He was a member of the propaganda that set out from New Lebanon, N. Y., on January 1, 1805, and was one of the first three Shakers in the west, and the ablest of the trio, and, in all probability, the most indefatigable missionary ever belonging to the sect. So far as I have been able to learn no account of his life or missionary labors has been preserved. His itinerary, as preserved in the church record, was as follows: On January 16, 1809, accompanied by two of the brethren, he set out on foot for Buserow (West Union, Ind. A society was here established, but after many vicissitudes was abandoned), and returned on March 29; April 25, accompanied by Elder Matthew Houston, he set out for Gasper (now South Union), Kentucky, by way of Eagle Creek, Caneridge and Shawnee Run; he was present and took a very active part in resisting the mob at Union Village on August 27, 1810, although the record is silent, but for September 13, records that in company with two others, he started on that day for Buserow, on the Wabash, in Indiana, and returned on December 4th; February 20, 1811, accompanied by Ruth Darrow, Edith Dennis and Peter Pease, he set out for Buserow (West Union), and at Cincinnati, on the 22nd, met the boats containing the believers from Eagle Creek, who were destined for the same place; he must soon after have returned for on April 9th he set out for Kentucky and returned on August 2d; September 25 he went to Kentucky and returned on September 11, 1812, and on the 29th started for Gasper, where he probably staid until September 30, 1814, at which date he arrived at Union Village; on July 16, 1818, he passed through Union Village on his return from New Lebanon to Gasper; March 27, 1820, he was again in Union Village and returned to Gasper on April 1st; November 8, 1829, he was on a visit to Union Village, but departed from there on the 24th; May 27, 1833, he arrived in Union Village but after ten days set out for home; on May 14, 1835, he was on his way to New Lebanon, and on September 22, arrived at Union Village on his return, and on the

30th set out for Gasper. The last record of him is for October 16, 1836, and is as follows: "Elder Benjamin S. Youngs arrives here from South Union," and "is now leaving the west to return no more. He goes to his old home at Watervleit, New York, after a residence of more than thirty years in the west. He gave us his valedictory address in meeting today. We bless him and pray that heaven may. He proceeds on the 20, same." During his long stay at Gasper he was an elder, but whether in the ministry — which he probably was —the record is silent.

Richard McNemar, born November 20, 1770, was a Presbyterian clergyman, who had a commanding influence during the Great Kentucky Revival. He was one of the six witnesses that met at Caneridge, Bourbon county, Kentucky, June 28, 1804, and on that day dissolved the Springfield Presbytery. While in charge of the church at Turtle Creek, he was converted to Shakerism, and united with that sect on April 24, 1805, followed by his entire family. During the rest of his life he was an elder in the order. In the Church Record his name occurs but sixteen times. April 22, 1807, he set out for Gasper, and returned December 4; January 16, 1809, he set out for Buserow on foot, and returned March 29, accompanied by Youngs and Issacher Bates; with the latter and John Hancock, on the 5th December, 1809, he again set out for Buserow, but failing to reach his destiny, on account of the high waters, he returned on the 10th; March 27, 1810, with Archibald Meacham, he set out for Buserow and returned May 1st; in company with David Moseley, Ruth Darrow and Peggy Houston, on October 15, he set out on a visit to Eagle Creek to visit the colony of believers at that place, returning on the 27th; April 9, 1811, he "set out for Kentucky" and returned August 2; June 1st, 1812, he started for Dayton to see the Governor respecting military matters which concerned believers; March 8, 1813, he went to Watervleit (near Dayton), where he was taken sick, and Nathan Sharp, on the 15th, started to bring him home; September 5, 1817, he was indicted at Lebanon, for assault and battery, on a false oath given by John Davis; February 14, 1830, he was released from his eldership at the Centre House, *pro tempore;* December 28, 1835, he was "released from his care as an Elder at Watervleit; but does not remove from Watervleit till 13th January,

1836." The last record is made for September 15, 1839: "This evening, Richard McNemar, Sen., deceased; after a protracted illness of chronic bowel complaint. He was among the first who received the gospel in the west, — being previously a Presbyterian minister in this place. One of the most zealous and loyal believers who ever embraced the gospel in this western land. Altogether more than ordinary intelligent."

Issacher Bates, born January 29, 1758, was one of the original propaganda that set out from New Lebanon, on January 1st, 1805. He is mentioned thirty-four times in the Church Record. April 22, 1807, he set out for Gasper and returned December 4; May 2, 1808, he "set out on a visit to Kentucky" and returned home June 12 following; July 27, he returned from a tour to the Wabash; he started for the Wabash September 18 and returned November 7; January 16, 1809, he set out for Buserow on foot and returned March 29; August 29, he set out on a visit to Buserow and arrived home on Sunday, September 24; December 5, he started for the Wabash, but returned the 10th, on account of high waters; on the 14th, he again set out for the Wabash and returned February 19, 1810, via Caneridge, Kentucky; March 15 he started for Shawnee Run (now Pleasant Hill), Kentucky, and arrived home March 28, 1811; November 11, he arrived from Buserow, and returned there December 19; he arrived from Buserow September 10, 1812; June 1, 1814, with Solomon King, he set out to visit the Harmony Society of Dutch people, returning the 21st; December 14, 1816, he arrived from West Union (Buserow), Ind., and returned the 17th; January 7, 1819, he arrived from West Union; April 21, 1820, he again came from West Union, and on June 22 returned; January 24, 1822, he arrived from, and on the 29th returned to West Union; January 8, 1823, he went to Darby Plains, Ohio, and returned the 24th; January 29, 1824, he removed from West Union to Union Village; March 30, he started for Zoar, a communistic society of Dutch people, where he was taken very sick, and on May 10, Calvin Morrell and Charles D. Hampton (both formerly physicians) started for Zoar to take care of him, and returned with him on the 27th; September 2, he set off to visit the Society at North Union,

near Cleveland, and returned October 9, and on the 21st, removed to Watervleit; June 27, 1825, he came to Union Village in order to attend the funeral of Elder David Darrow; July 29, 1826, he set out for West Union, and returned home, via Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, on September 16; June 1, 1830, he started for New Lebanon and returned September 2; May 27, 1833, he arrives at Union Village, and "expects to take a long visiting tour in Kentucky." The last record is for April 16, and 30, and May 14: "It is now concluded for our good old veteran pioneer, Elder Issachar, who has done so much, and spent all his latter days, nearly, in planting and building up the gospel in the West, to return to the East, and retire from these labors. He will visit among us till the 30th inst., when he will return to Watervleit." April 30: "Elder Issachar returns to Watervleit (Ohio) to-day, preparatory to starting to New Lebanon; we therefore have taken our final change of salutations and farewell, with many well wishes for each others welfare." May 14: Elder Issachar starts from Watervleit to join his company at Circleville to go East to return no more."

NARRATIVE OF THE MISSION TO THE INDIANS.

For a full account of the Shaker mission to the Shawnee Indians we are indebted to the report given by Richard McNemar, who based his narrative upon the Journal kept by the missionaries. On March 17, 1807, the three brethren, David Darrow, Richard McNemar and Benjamin S. Youngs set out in search of the Indians, and on the 23rd arrived at their village, now Greenville, Ohio. "When we came in sight of the village, the first object that attracted our view was a large frame house, about 150 by 34 feet in size, surrounded with 50 or 60 smoking cottages. We rode up and saluted some men who were standing before the door of a tent, and by a motion of the hand were directed to another wigwam where we found one who could talk English. We asked him if their feelings were friendly.

A. O yes, we are all brothers.

Q. Where are your chiefs — we wish to have a talk with them?

A. They are about 4 miles off making sugar.

Q. What are their names?

A. Lal-lu-e-tsee-ka, and Te-kum-tha.*

Q. Can any of them talk English?

A. No; but there is a good interpreter there, George Blue-Jacket. He has gone to school, and can read and talk well.

Q. What is that big house for?

A. To worship the Great Spirit.

Q. How do you worship?

A. Mostly in speaking.

Q. Who is your chief speaker?

A. Our prophet, Lal-lu-e-tsee-ka. He converses with the Great Spirit, and tells us how to be good.

Q. Do all that live here, believe in him?

A. Yes; we all believe — he can dream to God.

Conducted by a pilot, we repaired to the sugar-camp, where 30 or 40 were assembled with the prophet, who was very sick and confined to his tent. We expressed our desire of having a talk with him. But George informed us that he could not talk to us, that ministers of the white people would not believe what he said, but counted it foolish and laughed at it, therefore he could not talk; besides, he had a pain in his head, and was very sick. After informing him we were not such ministers, he asked:

Do you believe a person can have true knowledge of the Great Spirit, in the heart, without going to school and learning to read?

A. We believe they can; and that is the best kind of knowledge.

After some talk of this kind with George, he went into the prophet's tent, where several chiefs were collected, and after continuing their council there about an hour, Lal-lu-e-tsee-ka came out and took his seat in a circle of about 30 persons who sat round the fire. All were silent — every countenance grave and solemn, when he began to speak. His discourse continued about half an hour, in which the most pungent eloquence expressed his

* Where Tecumseh lived at Greenville is still called Tecumseh's Point. It is now owned by Herschel Morningstar.

deep and heart-felt sense of what he spoke, but in language which George said, he could not correctly translate into English. However, the general sense he occasionally communicated during our stay.

In the first place, that he (the prophet) had formerly lived on White river; had been a doctor and a very wicked man. About two years ago, while attending on sick people at Attawa, in a time of general sickness, he was struck with a deep and awful sense of his sins — cried mightily to the Good Spirit to show him some way of escape, and in his great distress, fell into a vision, in which he appeared to be travelling along a road, and came to where it forked — the right hand way he was informed led to happiness and the left to misery.

This fork in the road, he was told, represented that stage of life in which people were convicted of sin; and those who took the right hand way quit everything that was wicked and became good. But the left hand road was for such as would go on and be bad, after they were shown the right way. They all move slow, till they come here, but when they pass the fork to the left, then they go swift. On the left hand way he saw three houses — from the first and second were pathways that led into the right hand road, but no way leading from the third. This, said he, is eternity. He saw vast crowds going swift along the left hand road, and great multitudes in each of the houses, under different degrees of judgment and misery. He mentioned particularly the punishment of the drunkard. One presented him a cup of liquor resembling melted lead; if he refused to drink it he would urge him, saying: Come, drink — you used to love whiskey. And upon drinking it, his bowels were seized with an exquisite burning. This draught he had often to repeat. At the last house their torment appeared inexpressible; under which he heard them scream, cry pitiful, and roar like the falls of a river. He was afterwards (said the interpreter) taken along the right hand way, which was all interspersed with flowers of delicious smell, and showed a house at the end of it where was everything beautiful, sweet and pleasant; and still went on learning more and more; but in his first vision he saw nothing but the state of the wicked; from which the Great Spirit told him to go and warn his people

of their danger, and call upon them to put away their sins, and be good. Whereupon he began to speak to them in great distress, and would weep and tremble, while addressing them. Some believed — were greatly alarmed — began to confess their sins — forsake them, and set out to be good. This spread the alarm, and brought many others from different tribes to see and hear, who were affected in like manner. But some of the chiefs who were very wicked, would not believe, and tried to keep the people from believing, and encouraged them on in their former wicked ways. Whereupon the Great Spirit told him to separate from these wicked chiefs and their people, and showed him particularly where to come, towards the big ford where the peace was concluded with the Americans; and there make provision to receive and instruct all from the different tribes that were willing to be good.

Accordingly all that believed had come and settled there, and a great many Indians had come to hear, and many more were expected. That some white people were afraid, but they were foolish; for they would not hurt any one.

We asked a number of questions:

Q. Do you believe that all mankind are going away from the Good Spirit by wicked works?

A. Yes; that is what we believe. And the prophet feels great pity for all.

Q. Do you believe that the Great Spirit once made himself known to the world, by a man that was called Christ?

A. Yes, we believe it, and the Good Spirit has showed our prophet what has been in many generations, and he says he wants to talk with some white people about these things.

Q. What sins does your prophet speak now against?

A. Witchcraft, poisoning people, fighting, murdering, drinking whisky, and beating their wives because they will not have children. All such as will not leave off there, go to Eternity —he knows all bad people that commit fornication, and can tell it all from seven years old.

Q. What do those do who have been wicked, when they believe the prophet?

A. They confess all.

Q. To whom do they confess?

A. To the prophet and four chiefs.

Q. Do they confess all the bad things they ever did?

A. All from seven years old. And cry and tremble when they come to confess.

Q. How did you learn this? The Roman Catholics confess their sins.

A. Some Wyandots joined the Roman Catholics at Detroit, who now believe in our prophet. Roman Catholics confess their sins, but go and do bad again. Our people forsake their bad way when they have confessed.

They asked us several questions concerning our people, and particularly whether they drank whisky; and appeared not a little rejoiced, to learn that there were some among the whites, so far reclaimed, as to lay aside the use of that pernicious liquor. We inquired how they made out for provisions. They answered they had none. So many people came there—eat up all they had raised.

The only meal we saw them eat was a turkey divided among thirty or forty. And the only relief we could afford them, was ten dollars for the purpose of buying corn.

After the evening conversation closed we concluded to return to the village, with George and several others; and mounted our horses. It was now in the dusk of the evening, and the full moon just rising above the horizon, when one of their speakers stood up in an alley, between the camps, and spoke for about fifteen minutes, with great solemnity, which was heightened at every pause, with a loud *Seguoy* from the surrounding assembly. On this occasion our feelings were like Jacob's when he cried out, "How dreadful is this place! Surely the Lord is in this place!" And the world knew it not. With these impressions we returned to the village, and spent the night.

Next morning, as soon as it was day, one of their speakers mounted a log, near the southeast corner of the village, and began the morning service with a loud voice, in thanksgiving to the Great Spirit. He continued his address for near an hour. The people were all in their tents, some at the distance of fifteen or twenty rods; yet they could all distinctly hear, and gave a

solemn and loud assent, which sounded from tent to tent, at every pause. While we stood in his view, at the end of the meeting-house, on rising ground, from which we had a prospect of the surrounding wigwams, and the vast open plain or prairie, to the south and east, and which looks over the big fort, toward the north, for the distance of two miles, we felt as if we were among the tribes of Israel, on their march to Canaan. Their simplicity and unaffected zeal for the increase of the work of the Good Spirit—their ardent desires for the salvation of their unbelieving kindred, with that of all mankind—their willingness to undergo hunger, fatigue, hard labor and sufferings, for the sake of those who came to learn the way of righteousness—and the high expectations they had, of multitudes flocking down to hear the prophet the ensuing summer, etc., were considerations truly affecting;—while Ske-law-wa hailed the opening day with loud aspirations of gratitude to the Good Spirit; and encouraged the obedient followers of Divine light to persevere.

They showed us several letters of friendship from the Governor of Ohio, Gen. Whiteman and others, from which they appeared that the Americans believed their dispositions to be peaceable and brotherly. Their marks of industry were considerable, not only in preparing ground for cultivation, but also in hewing and preparing timber for more commodious buildings. From all we could gather, from their account of the work, and of their faith and practice — what we heard and felt in their evening and morning worship — their peaceable dispositions, and attention to industry, we were induced to believe that God, in very deed, was mightily at work among them. And under this impression, we invited three or four of them to come down and see us, as soon as they found it convenient."

The stay of the deputation was short, for on March 27 they returned. The time actually at Greenville is no where stated, but in all probability it was not more than five days.

To the foregoing account Mr. McNemar adds the following:

"Near the middle of June upwards of twenty appeared at Turtle Creek, encamped in the woods at a small distance from the church, and tarried four days. They had worship every evening at the encampment; and several on the Sabbath attended the

meeting of the Believers, and behaved with order and decorum. During their stay they conducted with peace and civility, and received no contrary treatment from any in the place. And to relieve, in some degree, the pressing wants of hungry famalies at home, 27 horses were loaded each with provisions, from among the Believers. Yet this act of charity, however small, did not long escape the censorious reflections of some hard-hearted mortals; but even furnished a pretext for implications the most monstrous and unreasonable. However, in this, as in all other cases of the kind, those who busied themselves about what did not concern them, were much divided in their opinion. Some had it, that a number of the Indians had joined the Shakers, and many more were coming on. Others, that an Indian had offered to confess his sins, but that the Shakers could not understand him; and therefore the Indians were convinced too, that the Shakers were deceivers. Others tried to make believe that the Shakers were encouraging them to war — or at least to contend for the land on which they had settled. And some were foolish enough to go all the way to the village, and put on a mask of hypocrisy, to find out whether this was not the case. Of all this trouble, both of mind and body, such might have been saved, had they accustomed themselves, at an earlier period, to believe those who tell the truth and nothing but the truth.

About the 12th of August (1807) they were visited again by two of the brethren from Turtle Creek, who found them in possession of the same peaceable and brotherly spirit. They had but little conversation with them, yet obtained abundant satisfaction by attending their meeting, which continued from a little after dark till the sun was an hour high the next morning.

The meeting was opened with a lengthy discourse, delivered by the prophet; after which they assembled in a close crowd, and continued their worship by singing and shouting, that might have been heard at least to the distance of two miles.

Their various songs, and perfect harmony in singing, shouting, etc., rendered the meeting very solemn. But all this appeared far inferior to that solemn fear of God, hatred of sin, and that peace, love and harmony which they manifested among each other. They needed no invitation to pay another visit to Turtle Creek;

nor were they forbidden. Therefore, pursuant to their own choice, a number of them appeared again at the church, August 29th, and were received with usual kindness and charity. On this occasion, some in the neighborhood expressed their uneasiness lest there was some mischievous plot carrying on. But amidst the threats of the ignorant or misinformed, the Shawnees testified that they were wholly for peace, and abundantly proved it by their meekness, gentleness and forbearance. The only expression like resentment that I heard from them on the occasion, was from Nancy, the interpreter, while a bold advocate for the New Christian doctrine, was boasting how the white people could cut them off. She said they were for nothing but peace; but if white people would go to war, they would be destroyed by a day of judgment, that not one soul would be left on the face of the earth.

Although these poor Shawnees have had no particular instruction but what they received by the outpouring of the Spirit, yet in point of real light and understanding, as well as behavior, they shame the Christian world. Therefore, of that Spirit which hath wrought so great a change, the believers at Turtle Creek are not ashamed; yet they are far from wishing them to turn to the right hand or to the left, to form an external union with them or any other people. But they are willing that God should carry on His work among them without interruption, as He thinks proper."

CHURCH RECORD AND THE INDIANS.

The Church Record book, on the Shakers' relation to the Indians, is brief and unsatisfactory, as upon almost every other point. A fair illustration is afforded in the fact that the manuscript record book extending from January 1, 1805, to April 30, 1861, contains but 480 pages. None of it is closely written and innumerable lines are skipped.

Such records as the Church Book gives are here reproduced:

1807. Mar. 17. "Elder David D. — B. S. Youngs and Richard McNemar set out for Greenville, to pay a visit to the Shawnee Indians, and witness the Reported revival of religion among them: (for an account of which see pamphlet entitled Ky. Revival) They return home on 27 of same."

May 30. "James Patterson and wife arrive here from Beaulah,

and in company with them were 21 Indians and 2 squaws, being a party of the aforesaid religious Indians."

"Sab. 31. Part of the Indians attend meeting, and also a great multitude of spectators. Indians set out for their homes June 4." "Aug. 10. Issachar Bates and Richard McNemar set out this morning to visit the religious Shawnee Indians."

"29. About 50 Indians arrive here last evening; we are threatened with being put to the sword's point, for showing charity to the poor Indians. This threat is from one Saml. Trousdale, a militia officer."

"Sep. 3. Indians return to Greenville."

CONCLUSION.

The records show that the Shakers desisted from any real efforts to promulgate their doctrines among the Indians. While they were well received, the evidence conveys the idea that the missionaries saw no opening for instructions after their manner. On the other hand, all things considered, they made encouraging strides among the civilized. Besides Union Village, permanent lodgment was effected at North Union, Watervleit, and Whitewater, in Ohio; South Union and Pleasant Hill, in Kentucky, and West Union in Indiana. Many additions and much encouragement were received at Beaver, Eagle Creek, Straight Creek and Darby Plains, all of which I presume were in Ohio. If the same persistency had been continued by the later Shakers as was manifested by the original leaders of this sect would not have been on the wane as so clearly demonstrated at this time. Shakerism depends on no large church for its moral support and increase. It receives from the world and is its own magnetic center. At this day it is wholly wanting in missionary enterprise. At Union Village there are but two men under fifty years of age. The Society has all the appearance of being doomed to extinction when the present members pass away. Still, we do not know. No man knoweth what another hour may bring forth.

Franklin, Ohio, February 23, 1902.

THE CHILLICOTHES.

By R. W. McFarland, LL. D.

In any pioneer history of Ohio, or of the West in general, the word Chillicothe is found as the Indian name of a town. As there were several of these, it may be well to mention some points, so as to identify the one intended:

1. Chillicothe.— Howe's Ohio and other histories speak of a town of this name on the Great Miami river. It was on the site of the present city of Piqua.

2. Chillicothe.— Often called "Old Chillicothe." This was about three miles north of Xenia. In 1780 when Gen. George Rogers Clark was on an expedition against the Indians, this old town was set on fire by the Indians themselves, and practically destroyed when Clark reached the place. About twelve miles northwest of this village, was Piqua, the birth place of Tecumseh. This place was on the north bank of Mad river, about six miles west of Springfield. Here Clark attacked and thoroughly routed the Shawnees, and destroyed the village and the growing crops. Those who escaped destruction retired to the Chillicothe on the Great Miami, and thence forward in general the place is called Piqua, in commemoration of the Mad river town. This No. 2 is the Chillicothe so often mentioned in connection with Boone and Kenton. People who read the lives of these two hunters should remember this.

3. Chillicothe. — Also often called "Old Chillicothe." This was about four miles down the river from Circleville, and was on the west side of the Scioto, at or very near the village of Westfall. All histories which give accounts of "Lord Dunmore's War," including the battle of Point Pleasant, when they say "Chillicothe," mean this one at Westfall.

4. Chillicothe.— Now called Hopetown, three miles north of the present city of that name in Ross County. When I lived in Chillicothe over half a century ago, this village was usually called "Old Town," in reference to the old Indian village. The

present city of Chillicothe does not occupy the site of an Indian town of this name.

5. Chillicothe. — Frankfort, in Ross county, twelve miles nearly northwest of the city; and about half a mile north of Roxabell, a station on the B. & O. Southwestern. This place also was generally called "Old Town," when I was teaching in Greenfield from 1848 to 1851.

All these were Shawnee villages, and the word is said to mean "The place where the people live," or words to that effect, but I cannot vouch for it as correct. Indian names were usually significant, as were old Jewish names.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

A CHARACTERIZATION SKETCH.

BY JOHN BEATTY.

There is more than a grain of truth underlying the notion that what the world calls greatness in men is the outgrowth of accident rather than of any exceptional physical moral or intellectual excellence. Nobody certainly can win victories and gain martial renown who lives in a period of profound peace. In civil life, however, it may be said that by change of scene or of occupation, men can seek congenial or profitable employment and thus shape their careers to suit them; but this freedom of action is often restricted to very narrow limits. What chance is there for one thrown by accident and fixed by duty to an environment of sterile ridges, to become a wealthy and successful farmer? He cannot remove to more fertile regions, for he is held to the place of his birth at first by poverty or by filial love, and ultimately by fatherly care for his family. He may have abundant energy but it is frittered away in unproductive toil. He may have high ambition, but for this there is no proper field of action and no encouragement. He may be endowed with exceptional courage; but this simply prompts him to contend more resolutely with the obstacles around him. He may be possessed of all the qualities which ennoble the soul, but these render him only the more devoted to those whom nature has confided to his care. A great civil commotion, involving the honor of the state and the liberties of its people might, perhaps, justify a disregard of lesser obligations, and multiply his opportunities; but, fortunately for mankind such disturbances are infrequent, and when they do occur accident and not merit is still too often the controlling factor. The truth is that men, in one respect at least, are so much like beans that when thoroughly shaken the smaller are as likely to come uppermost as the larger.

General Grant in the preface to his personal memoirs affirmed "that there are but few important events in the affairs of men brought about by their own choice." Was his own life an illustration of the truth of this statement? In other words, was Grant's career the result of pre-eminent skill, or of unprecedented luck? Or was there in his case such a combination of fair ability and extraordinary good fortune as the world had rarely, if ever, before witnessed? This suggests in part, at least, the subject to which I propose to invite attention.

It is safe to assert in the outset that in the year 1839, there were at least ten thousand boys in Ohio of suitable age and education who would have been glad to enter the Military School at West Point. Of this large number, however, there were but few to whom the opportunity was presented. Among the few thus favored was Ulysses S. Grant. The favor was accorded to him by chance, and accepted reluctantly. If there had been a competitive examination for the place, as is now the custom, it is not at all probable he would have been appointed, for besides disliking the position, and hence eager to avoid it, he was never particularly studious, and not exceptionally bright as a scholar. Had he been left to make his own choice of a pursuit in life we have his word for it he would not have chosen that of arms. So that circumstances conspired against his own will to thrust him where he had no desire to be. The circumstances — the independent, outside forces, which drove him unwillingly to the Military Academy, and so started him upon his soldier life, may be briefly summed up as follows: The son of Dr. Bailey having been sent to West Point from the Brown-Clermont congressional district, failed to pass the preliminary examination. As a favor to a most estimable father, however, the young man was given a year for further preparation, and then re-appointed; but for some reason he was finally dismissed. Father Grant, hearing accidentally of young Bailey's failure long before it was known to the public, and before there was any competition for the place, wrote to Senator Morris in his son's behalf: the Senator wrote to Thomas L. Hamer, then a representative

in Congress, and Hamer recommended the appointment. One element in the series of happenings which led to this selection was the fact that young Bailey's father was a near neighbor of the elder Grant, and hence the latter had an opportunity not enjoyed by the people of the congressional district generally, to hear of the young man's dismissal. Of the opportunity thus afforded he availed himself by making early application for the place.

The fact that young Grant went reluctantly to the Military Academy has been alluded to, but his own confession emphasizes this phase of the subject, for he states that after loitering in Philadelphia and other cities, and thus gratifying a desire to see the world, natural to all boys, he hoped an accident would occur to make his immediate return to Georgetown imperative. But, fortunately, no accident did occur, and he entered the Military School for which he had set out. While there, however, he longed to be away, and pursued his studies with a half-heartedness which left him at the close of his term twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine, or a little below the average.

Having graduated and donned the uniform of a lieutenant he began to feel more interest in his profession. He tells us, however, it was never his intention to remain long in the army, but to prepare himself for a professorship in some college. It is more than probable his acquaintance with Miss Julia Dent, which began not long after his graduation, augmented his military ardor somewhat, and rendered him at least solicitous that so long as he remained in the army she should have no reason to be ashamed of him.

His service in Mexico we would probably have known little or nothing of, if it had not been for his subsequent prominence. He evidently deported himself, however, with more than ordinary skill and courage during that war, but with no approximation to the brilliancy displayed, during the last year of the rebellion, by Custer, Wilson, and other young graduates of the Military Academy. In brief, in Mexico he proved himself rather more than a fair lieutenant of the regular army, but not an exceptionally great one.

His promotion to a captaincy and his resignation from the army were followed by his return to St. Louis, and his residence on the Dent farm. The years spent here were years of comparative, if not absolute failure, so far as the accumulation of property was concerned, and yet in other respects they may have been of the most improving character, for the discipline which poverty affords, severe though it may be, is as a rule most salutary. It dissipates a multitude of deceptive and harmful illusions. It teaches that nine-tenths of our desires are for things which may be readily dispensed with, and that our actual needs are few. In brief, it impresses upon the soldier the important fact that it is not well to encumber himself with too much baggage, and that comfort may be secured, and health and vigor maintained with plain food, in plain quarters, and in close contact with the rougher phases of nature. While near St. Louis his efforts to obtain an unimportant office did not meet with success. The co-partnership which he formed for the purchase and sale of real estate led to no good results. The business in which he engaged of hauling wood from his wife's farm to the St. Louis market was far from lucrative, and his residence in a log cabin not what his previous life had fitted him to accept with cheerfulness. He was graduated from the most important school of the country; had been a captain in the regular army, and an officer in the Mexican war; these facts and the high social position of the Dents would, let his occupation be what it might, give him a respectable standing among gentlemen, and free access to the best society; but all this failed to help him with the pushing, scheming throng of business men who were seeking assistants to carry on the enterprises of a growing city. What a man had been and had done were as nothing to them; what he was and could do were alone important. They had no use for Grant, and there was, therefore, no opening for him at St. Louis, no prospect of bettering a fortune which he thought needed mending to be endurable.

Let us pause a moment to speculate on the condition and prospects of the man as we find them now. He evidently desired to remain in St. Louis. It was his wife's home. He

had settled there intending to make it his permanent abode. Suppose fortune had at this time treated him more kindly, and helped him to a profitable occupation. What then would have been his probable future? That he would have gone into the army again is perhaps certain; but in what capacity would he have gone? What local rivalries would he have encountered in his first aspirations for a comparatively high command? To what places, obscure and unimportant, or otherwise, would he have been sent? To say his career would not have been materially different from what it was, is to affirm that a shot fired from St. Louis would hit the same target as if projected from Galena. In the latter case we know the bull's eye was struck; would it have been in the other?

The point, however, I desire to emphasize is that he was coerced by what he regarded as untoward circumstances to abandon St. Louis and seek a humble position at Galena. Father Grant at this period, evidently considered Ulysses the least hopeful of his sons, for he tells us that when Ulysses came to him for assistance and advice he "referred him to Simpson," Ulysses' brother, "and Simpson sent him to the Galena store to stay until something might turn up in his favor, and told him he must confine his wants within $800 a year," and "that if that would not support him he must draw what it lacked from the rent of his house and the hire of his negroes in St. Louis."

It may be inferred from Father Grant's statement with respect to the condition of his son's affairs at this time that through his wife Ulysses had become the owner of a few negroes, and as these sable children of God had not been educated at West Point it was the opinion of the Grant family that they were not only competent to make a living for themselves, but to contribute something to Ulysses' support. It would, of course, be a great pleasure to these humble toilers to be permitted to help sustain a white man who had been educated at the expense of the government to such an extent that he could not maintain himself.

Ulysses was content to accept the place offered to him by his brother Simpson, and to agree to the terms prescribed

The position and the salary were not suggestive of a life of elegance and leisure, but Ulysses within the past few years had lived in a log cabin, carried his grist to the neighborhood mill on horseback, chatted with the miller while it was being ground, and in many other ways become accustomed to homely surroundings and a life of exceeding plainness. The $800, therefore, which his brother Simpson stipulated as the limit of his annual expenditures may, when contrasted with his recent income, have seemed to him munificent. It can be safely conjectured, at any rate, that Father Grant, some years prior to the period of which we write, had reached the melancholy conclusion that Ulysses was not at all likely to become rich or add luster to the family name. It would have been better, he doubtless thought, to have kept the lad at home, and trained him up to some useful occupation like the leather trade, than to have sent him off to a military school with a view to making him a soldier.

Grant's removal to Galena, unpromising as it seemed, was one of the fortunate incidents of his life. It made him a fellow townsman of Elihu B. Washburne. This not only led to his early appointment to the position of brigadier-general, but secured to him an influential and zealous friend in Congress and at the Executive Mansion. Washburne, although opposed to the expenditure of public money for the improvement of other states and sections, was always heartily in favor of an appropriation for his own district, and never neglected his constituents. He, therefore, defended Grant, the Galena General, against adverse criticism, magnified his achievements, and insisted upon broadening his field of operations. It is impossible for either president or secretary to know, in ever so slight a degree, all the officers of a great army, and it is not at all unusual for those in power to gratify distinguished senators and representatives by the promotion of friends or relatives in whom they manifest a special and somewhat persistent interest. Whole families may be mentioned who have been indebted to personal and political influence for their advancement. On the other hand, multitudes of scholarly men, men of rare ability, wealth and high social standing,

have patiently and bravely served as privates, in the rear rank, or plodded through the war as company officers, without the slightest recognition, and almost without reward. Unfortunately for them, they had no active and influential friends at the place where appointments were made and commissions issued.

For eleven months Grant served as a clerk in a leather store. To one of his age, education and antecedents his position and surroundings were not at all flattering, and his future, so far as men could judge of it by ordinary tokens, not luminous with encouragement. He was in April, 1861, just thirty-nine years old. He had passed the romantic and experimental period of young manhood, and was just entering upon the era of solid conservatism, which may be expected to continue for at least ten or fifteen years, no whit impaired by the depressing shadows which gather and thicken with the decline of life. The war struck him at the right age. There were a few younger men, during the last year of the Rebellion when the confederacy was on crutches, who achieved phenomenal success. But these formed the exception, not the rule. The men in high command who filled their positions the most ably ranged in age from forty to fifty. This is true not only of those educated at West Point, but of those who entered the army from civil life. Thomas, when the war began, was forty-five; Sherman, forty-one; Rosecrans, forty-two; Meade, forty-five; Buell, forty-three. The last person here named is popularly counted least of all, but I apprehend unjustly so. The misfortune which led to his practical retirement from the army in 1862, was one for which he was by no means wholly to blame. It came, however, at a time when the howling dervishes of political life must be placated by a sacrifice, and he was consequently offered up.

Grant, I repeat, was of proper age to commend him for positions of responsibility. Had he been ten years younger he would at that time have been regarded as unfit for high command. Had he been fifteen years older he would probably have been considered too old for active work in the field, and hence assigned to a post or fortification. He was, however,

in no haste to enter the army. Though a comparative stranger in Galena, it was nevertheless known to many that he was educated at West Point, and had been an officer in the Mexican war. When the first meeting was held to obtain volunteers in response to the President's call for troops, Grant, by reason of the facts alluded to, was asked to preside. He tells us that "with much embarrassment and some prompting he made out to announce the object of the meeting." Elihu B. Washburne and John A. Rawlins made speeches; a company was raised, but Grant declined the captaincy of it. Here was an opportunity for him to resume his old position as the commander of a company; but he was in no haste. Had he been thoroughly imbued with and aroused by that spirit of patriotism which, at this time, was convulsing the north, he would have seized this early opportunity to enter the service of the government which had educated him; but he did not. He took hold of the Galena company, however, divided it into squads and superintended their drill, and subsequently accompanied the soldiers to Springfield, the capital of the state. Here he met Governor Yates, and for a time accepted service in the Adjutant-General's office. Here he also met General John Pope. He had been with Pope at West Point, and also in the Mexican war. Pope suggested that he ought to go into the United States service; the answer was that he "intended to do so, if there was a war." But he was evidently in no hurry. Some days after his conversation with Pope, to-wit, on May 24th, 1861, he offered his services to the government by letter, coupling the offer with the suggestion that in view of his age and length of service he felt himself competent to command a regiment. But this letter was pigeon-holed at the war department, and neither responded to nor brought to light again until after the war was ended. In 1861 it was the letter of an obscure and inconsequential personage; but in 1865-6, when it was recovered and the dust wiped from its folds it was found to be the letter of the foremost general of the continent. How long Grant would have waited for a reply to his proffer of service and remained a helper in a leather store, or a clerk in the Adjutant-General's department of Illinois, had not an

unforseen and most unusual incident occurred, must remain forever a matter of conjecture. We know enough by this time, however, to know that his patriotism was of the deliberate kind, which did not propose either to surrender unconditionally to the public demand for soldiers, or to move on the enemy's works until he had obtained what he wanted; and what he wanted was a regiment. If people generally who were apparently as well educated and well situated as himself, had waited until they got a regiment before entering the service, there would have been precious few soldiers in the field in 1861, and probably no war. But finally a contingency arose which rendered an answer to his letter of May 24th, a matter of indifference to him. As was the custom of the early volunteer regiments, the officers of the Twenty-first Illinois Infantry were selected by the men. Had this regiment adhered to its first choice, whether good, bad or indifferent, as most regiments did, Grant would have had still further time for deliberation, and just what the upshot of his career would in that case have been, nobody can tell. But the boys of the Twenty-first, during a few weeks in camp, became so well acquainted with the colonel they had selected that they knew they did not want him; and, moreover, resolved they would not have him, and positively declined to march a foot under his leadership. Here was an exigency not provided for in any of the military books then in use. But it was, nevertheless, promptly met by Governor Yates. He at once discharged the duly elected colonel of the Twenty-first regiment and appointed Grant in his stead. Still the boys of the Twenty-first were not satisfied. They had not been sworn into the United States service, and could not be without their consent. Here, then was another contingency which must be provided for before Grant could go to the war as a colonel. Fortunately another accident came speedily to his help. John Alexander McClernand and John A. Logan visited Springfield and asked permission to address his regiment. Grant hesitated, for at the time he was somewhat doubtful of Logan's loyalty to the cause; but he finally consented, and after the speeches had been delivered the boys were not only ready to enlist for any

length of time, but to go anywhere with anybody. They were, therefore, at once sworn in as United States soldiers, and Grant had his regiment.

Soon after he had conducted his regiment to the field, President Lincoln requested the Illinois congressional delegation to name some citizens or soldiers of the state for the position of brigadier-general, and very much to Grant's surprise, and to his gratification, doubtless, his own name headed the list. His commission was issued in August, but dated back to May 17th. He had thus far rendered no service to warrant such promotion, and in fact was not in the service May 17th, the date from which he took rank; but Mr. Elihu B. Washburne, who was at that time, and for many years thereafter, a man of great influence in Washington, took interest enough in the matter to see that one of his own townsmen obtained timely recognition. Grant was thus indebted to his accidental residence in Galena for the rank which enabled him to assume leadership in whatever military enterprise took place around him. He had certainly done nothing in August, 1861, to entitle him to promotion. Up to this date he had neither met nor seen an enemy; and, according to his own admission, had not yet fully succeeded in familiarizing himself with Hardee's tactics, a system of company and battalion drill, which since the Mexican war had been substituted for Scott's. Six months later his promotion under such circumstances would have been regarded as inexcusable favoritism. Still that was the initiatory period of the war. Leaders were indispensable, and hence his appointment, even in the absence of any action on his own part to warrant it, was justifiable. It must be admitted, however, that it was a blind shot on the part of the government; but it must be conceded also, that it was the best it ever succeeded in making under similar conditions.

When his appointment as brigadier-general had been confirmed, he at once proceeded to the selection of his staff. In doing this he tells us he took Lieutenant Lagow of his old regiment, the Twenty-first Illinois Infantry; Hillyer, a young lawyer, of St. Louis, and John A. Rawlins, of Galena. The

two former were not good selections, but the latter person, if we may judge, not by what Grant says of him, for he is somewhat reticent on the subject, but by current report and unimpeachable testimony, was preeminently qualified for the place assigned him. Indeed, it has not been difficult to find sensible, reliable and disinterested army officers bold enough to insist that Rawlins was, during the entire war, Grant's good angel, and that without his active and intelligent co-operation and support, the success which the latter achieved would have been impossible.

Grant was especially fortunate, also, in being ordered to Cairo. The place turned out to be an important one for the assemblage and distribution of troops, and in a few months a considerable army gathered around him. Up to November 1st, the sixth month of the war, however, he had done nothing to demonstrate his fitness for a high command, and yet at this date he tells us he had under him not fewer than 20,000 men.

Grant's early education and experience had, to some extent, fitted him for independent command, and the management of important expeditions. He had in boyhood been accorded by his parents much liberty in thought and action. He was, like most boys, particularly fond of horses, and in this manly inclination had been fully indulged. He felt at liberty even when a lad to buy and trade and sell, assured that even his mistakes in this line would not elicit undue censure. The pride of ownership was thus not only stimulated, but the pride of usership, if such a word is allowable, was encouraged. He felt free to ride his own colts twenty or thirty miles, or more, in this direction and in that, to visit uncles, aunts and cousins of a somewhat numerous and scattered family. He had thus early in life become accustomed to "going it alone." He tells us that while quite young he visited Cincinnati, forty-five miles away, several times; also Maysville, Kentucky, often, and once Louisville. He had also gone in a two-horse carriage to Chillicothe, about seventy miles, with a neighbor's family, and returned alone. He had gone once in a like manner to Flat Rock, Kentucky, above seventy miles away.

On this latter occasion he was fifteen years of age, and traded one of his carriage horses for a fine saddle horse which had never worn a collar, but which, with much difficulty, and not a little danger, he succeeded in taking home.

West Point had doubtless conferred many favors on him. It brought him into close relationship with officers of the regular army, and thus enabled him to form an approximately correct estimate of their ability. Then again, it made him familiar with the best models of military correspondence, and the best forms of office reports, and taught him the special as well as general duties of all officers, whether at posts or in the field. But it may, after all, with good reason, be doubted whether this school life contributed one-half as much to his subsequent success as the early habit, which, by the indulgence of his parents he acquired, of thinking and acting for himself, and of making solitary expeditions to comparatively distant places. This was well calculated to develop that feeling of self reliance so essential to an independent commander.

But there was another element in the man's nature which contributed more to his military success than even his West Point education, or his early acquired habit of following the bent of his own inclinations. He had been reared in a pioneer settlement, where fact and fancy — the real and unreal — occupied the mind in about the same relative proportions that the forest and cleared fields did the landscape. There were innumerable signs and omens current, which the half educated people of the backwoods accepted as guides in their daily walk and conversation, or as indications of success or failure. To see the new moon over the left shoulder, or perhaps through brush, was a sure suggestion of coming misfortune, and hence filled the heart with despondency, and rendered all effort feeble and indecisive. To see it over the right shoulder and without any intervening object to obstruct the vision, was a happy omen, and gave to the beholder courage, by assuring him of success. There were countless other signs equally potent for good or ill, with their restricting or enlarging influence upon human acts. The accidental upsetting of the salt cellar at the family table, had its dire significance,

for it presaged a quarrel. There were signs for the coming of a hungry guest, for weddings, for deaths, and for all other calamities or blessings of which the mind can readily conceive, and among others was the superstitious belief that if you started for a place you must go to it, let the obstructions be what they might. Grant says: "One of my superstitions had always been when I started to go anywhere, or do anything, not to turn back, or stop until the thing intended was accomplished. I had frequently started to go to places where I had never been, and to which I did not know the way, depending upon making inquiry on the road, and if I got past the place without knowing it, instead of turning back, I would go on until a road was found turning in the right direction, take that and come in by the other side."

That this superstition was an important element in Grant's character cannot be doubted. It held him with the tenacity of a vise to any purpose upon which he had resolved. Having set his face in one direction he must follow it undeviatingly to the end, unless, by chance, he failed to recognize the place he started for when he got to it, and so passed it by; then, in that case, instead of turning squarely around and going to it by the easiest and shortest route, he must travel on "until a road was found turning in the right direction, take that and come in by the other side." That this, in a general way, was foolishness, pure and simple, will be admitted without argument. To a prudent, thoughtful, intelligent painstaking military chieftain, however, it was a thing of inestimable value. After his plans had been carefully prepared, and he committed to a line of action, this superstition admitted of neither reconsideration nor withdrawal, and rendered him resolute, pertinacious, unyielding and invincible. Had more of our generals been dominated by it there would have been less counter-marching, sturdier fighting and more decisive victories.

But besides his early acquired habit of "going it alone;" his military training at West Point, and the superstition which would not permit him to turn back when once started upon an expedition, he had other important elements of strength as a soldier.

1. His habitual reticence rendered him slow to commit himself in words to any line of action; led him to sift the opinions of those around him before expressing his own, and left him free to accept, combine and enforce such views as he deemed most feasible.

2. His natural obstinacy kept him steady and unvacillating amid a multitude of disagreeing counselors, and prompted him to adhere to any opinion he had expressed, or any work he had undertaken.

3. His stoical temperament rendered him popular with the authorities at Washington, for it deterred him from annoying them with complaints of inadequate support or tardy recognition.

Obstinacy is a somewhat common attribute of man; the stoicism, however, which prompts him to endure disappointment and misfortune in dignified silence may be counted among the rare human virtues; and in this country reticence is phenomenal. It is the custom here to speak first and think afterwards, and our thoughts and acts are therefore too often diverted from the true line by attempts to justify unpremeditated utterances. The position assigned Grant in his class at the time of his graduation probably indicates very nearly the intellectual standing to which he was subsequently entitled among educated gentlemen of the army and in civil life. He was not a genius in war, but simply a sledge-hammer fighter — a sort of military pugilist, who, like Sampson, sometimes struck blindly, but always with all the strength he had. From Belmont to Appomattox he never won an advantage over the enemy except when in command of superior numbers. He will in history take rank with the resolute warriors of the world; but whether the ultimate verdict here referred to will assign him to a higher place among martial leaders than the positions to be severally awarded by the same authority to Thomas, Rosecrans, Sherman, Meade, Hancock and Sheridan, is a question about which there are already many conflicting opinions, and one which, owing to existing political prejudices and personal preferences, it will be impossible for our countrymen at the present day to accurately determine.

PAINTED SKELETONS.

By Wm. C. Mills,
Curator Ohio State Archeological Historical Society.

Very peculiar burials have been reported from the western part of Concord Township, Ross County, Ohio. The burials were first brought to my notice by Mr. A. B. Coover of Roxabell, Ohio, who removed several skeletons from a gravel pit in

Figure 1.

the western part of Concord Township, and these were covered with red ocre. One year later Mr. Almer Hegler, of Washington C. H., notified me that a number of skeletons, covered with red ocre, had been removed from a gravel pit in the western part of the county and at the same time invited me to visit the place. Upon examination I found the country is here and there dotted over with a number of gravel kames

from which gravel has been taken for road purposes. In very nearly every one of these kames burials have been discovered, however, not all of the skeletons were covered with red ocre. About fifteen skeletons have been removed from the gravels in this vicinity; of these six were covered with ocre. With the skeleton that Mr. Coover removed from the gravel pit, which is in sight of the one from which Mr. Hegler obtained the painted bones, was found a grooved ax, similar to those found by Mr. Hegler but very much smaller as to size. An examination of the skeletons in place in these gravels show that they were buried about two feet below the surface and in very nearly all instances they were lying at full length. Apparently the entire body was covered with this red ocre at the time of burial and as the flesh decayed away it colored the bones of the skeleton as well as the implements and ornaments that were placed in the grave.

Figure I, shows a grooved ax made of diorite. This is covered with red ocre and weighs about two pounds. Another ax similar in every respect to this one, was taken from another burial, and weighed about four pounds.

Figure 2.

Figure II, shows a tubular pipe and this is also covered with red ocre. It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter at the

larger end $\frac{3}{4}$-inch at the smaller end. Another pipe, similar to this one, was also found, but was broken by the workman.

Figure 2 (A).

A number of drills and arrowpoints covered with this paint have also been taken from these graves. (A) of figure 3 shows a drill and (B) of figure 3 shows an arrowpoint.

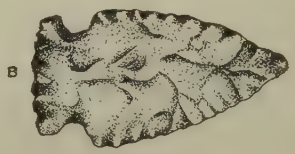


Figure 3 (B).

The painted skeletons taken from these gravel kames differ very much from the one taken from the central grave in the large Adena mound near Chillicothe. In this burial the flesh seems to have been removed from the lower legs and the ocre placed upon the bone and it was then covered with a plaster of mud.

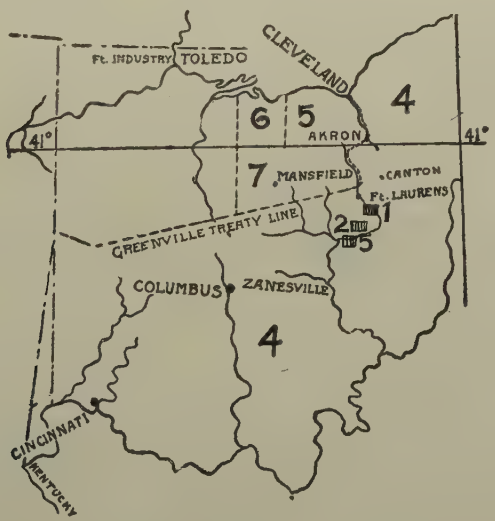
So far, the only record, of painted skeletons found in Ohio, other than those mentioned above, was made by Prof. Moorehead, and is recorded in Vol. 5, page 219, Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Society publications.

INDIAN LAND CESSIONS IN OHIO.

By S. S. Knabenshue.

Ever since the civilized nations of the world began to occupy lands peopled by savages, they have based their claims upon the right of discovery, followed by occupation. This principle has been judicially affirmed by the United States Supreme Court, which declared "that discovery gave an exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy, either by purchase or conquest," and also to sovereignty. (Johnson and Graham's lessee, v. McIntosh, 8 Wheaton, p. 543 et seq. Decided in 1823).

The title to the soil of Ohio was obtained by treaties of cession from the tribes. In the two maps accompanying this arti-



The Greenville Treaty Line.

cle, all the principal cessions and Indian reserves are shown. The first treaty affecting Ohio lands was made with the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas and Ottawas in 1785, which defined the

boundaries of the Indian tribes, and ceded certain tracts to the whites. This was followed by another in 1786 with the Shawnees. But neither of these was ever carried into effect because of continued warfare on the frontier between Indians and whites. Under them, however, Congress made three grants September 3, 1788, each of 4,000 acres, to Christian Indians in Ohio. These were at the Moravian missions of Shoenbrun, Gnadenhutten and Salem, on the Muskingum. They are marked 1, 2 and 3 on the small map. They were repurchased by the government in 1823.

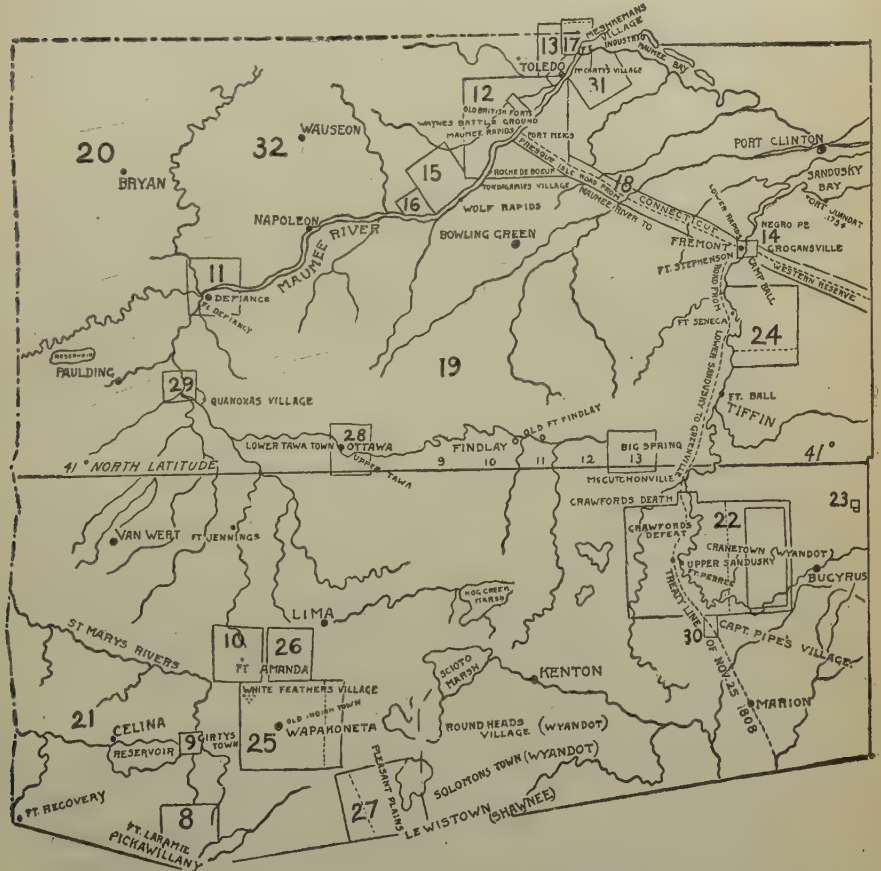
It was not until Gen. Anthony Wayne's expedition, in 1794, crushed the power of the Indians in Ohio at the decisive battle of Fallen Timbers on the Maumee, some dozen miles above Toledo, that the United States obtained cession of Ohio lands which the tribes recognized. This treaty, the fruit of Wayne's victory, was made at Greenville, Ohio, August 3, 1795, with the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Miamis, Eel Rivers, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws and Kaskaskias.

By this treaty the Indians gave up to the United States all lands lying east and south of the following boundary, known as the Greenville Treaty Line:" From the mouth of the Cuyahoga river up that stream to the Portage between it and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence down the Tuscarawas to the crossing-place above Fort Laurens; thence westerly to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami river at or near which stood Loramie's store; thence westerly to Fort Recovery; thence southwesterly in a direct line to the Ohio river opposite the mouth of the Kentucky. The line is shown on the smaller map, and the area ceded is marked 4.

The Indians thus granted nearly two-thirds of Ohio's entire area, embracing the eastern and southern portions, and a small triangular portion of southeastern Indiana. By the same treaty, the Indians ceded to the United States a number of smaller tracts of land within the general limits of the territory reserved to themselves in Ohio, Indiana and Michigan. The following is a list of these cessions in Ohio, the number preceding each indicating its location on the large map:

8. Six miles square at or near Loramie's store.

9. Two miles square at the head of navigable water on St. Mary's river, near Girty's town.



CESSIONS AND RESERVATIONS IN NORTHWESTERN OHIO.

10. Six miles square at the head of navigable water on the Auglaize river.

11. Six miles square at the confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee, at Ft. Defiance. This was surveyed in 1805.

12. Twelve miles square at the British Fort Miami, at the foot of the rapids of the Maumee. This was surveyed in Decem-

ber, 1805; subdivided and sold under act of Congress of April, 27, 1816.

13. Six miles square at the mouth of the Maumee. Surveyed in 1806 by Ewing under act of Congress of March 3, 1805. This embraced all of the area on which Toledo now stands, and extended north just across the Michigan line.

Two miles square on Sandusky bay, where a fort formerly stood. This was found to be within the limits of the Firelands, and hence was never separately surveyed.

14. Two miles square at the lower rapids of the Sandusky river, at Ft. Stephenson, where Fremont now stands. Surveyed by Ewing in 1807; subdivided into town lots and sold under act of Congress of April 27, 1816.

The next cession in importance was that made by the treaty of July 4, 1805, made at Fort Industry, where Toledo now stands. The tribes participating were the Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas, Munsees, Delawares, Shawnees and Pottawatomies.

This treaty defined the boundary between these Indians and the United States to be a meridian line drawn north and south 120 miles due west of the Pennsylvania line, and extending from Lake Erie south to the Greenville treaty line. This embraced three tracts, all shown on the small map. The one bordering on Lake Erie west of the Cuyahoga, numbered 5 on the small map, is a part of the Western Reserve; the tract next west, numbered 6, is the Firelands, which are really a part of the Reserve; and third, the tract south of these two, numbered 7, between the 41st parallel and the Greenville treaty line.

The Western Reserve of Connecticut occupied the northeastern corner of the state. It was bounded on the north by Lake Erie, on the east by Pennsylvania, on the south by the 41st parallel of latitude, and on the west by the present east line of Seneca and Sandusky counties. In 1792 the Connecticut legislature granted 500,000 acres off the west end of the Reserve to such of her citizens as had suffered by British depredations in the Revolution — the burning of Groton and New Britain especially. On this account this tract is called the Firelands.

On November 17, 1807, a treaty was made at Detroit with the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots and Pottawatomies, by which

they ceded to the United States a large area in southern Michigan, and including, in Ohio, all lands lying north and east of a line beginning at the mouth of the Maumee, and running up that stream to the mouth of the Auglaize, thence due north. See No. 32 on the large map. From this area, however, the Indians reserved the following tracts, the numbers referring to positions on the large map:

15. Six miles square on the Maumee, above Roche de Boeuf, "to include the village where Tondaganie (or the Dog) now lives." This reserve was ceded to the United States August 30, 1831. The name of the Chief Tondoganie, the Dog, (which is spelled several different ways in the documents) is perpetuated in the name of the village of Tontogany, Wood county, which stands a few miles east of the site of the Indian village.

16. Three miles square on the Maumee, above the twelve miles square ceded by the treaty of Greenville, "including what is called Presque Isle," which is the hill immediately south of and overlooking the battlefield of Fallen Timbers. This reserve was, however, located at Wolf Rapids, as Presque Isle was found to be within the twelve-mile square reserve, at the foot of the Rapids of the Maumee, ceded to the United States by the treaty of Greenville. This reserve was ceded to the United States by treaty of August 30, 1831.

17. Four miles square on Maumee bay, "including the villages where Meshkemau and Waugau live." This reserve was ceded to the United States by treaty of February 18, 1833. It embraced the lands from Toledo to and across the Ottawa river, and a part of Michigan on the other side of that stream, on the western shore of Maumee bay.

At Brownstown, Mich., a treaty was made, on November 25, 1808, with the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Wyandots and Shawnees, ceding to the United States a tract of land for a road, 120 feet wide, from the foot of Maumee Rapids (Perrysburg), to the western line of the Western Reserve; and all the land within one mile of said road on each side, that settlements might be established along it. It is numbered 18 on the large map. They also ceded a strip 120 feet wide, for a roadway only, settle-

ments being barred, from Fremont south to the Greenville boundary line. This road followed up the Sandusky river, passing just west of Tiffin, through Upper Sandusky and Marion, and reaching the Greenville treaty line about half way between the latter place and Delaware.

These roads gave free access between the twelve-mile square cession at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, and the lands already in possession of the whites east and south of the Indian tract.

On September 29, 1817, a treaty was made at the foot of the Rapids of the Maumee, with several Indian tribes, by which the Wyandots ceded all the land in Ohio west of the line established by the Fort Industry treaty, except certain reserves hereinafter stated; and the Pottawatomies, Ottawas and Chippewas ceded the remaining Indian lands in the northwestern corner of the state, north of the Maumee, and west of the Detroit treaty line — numbered 20 on the large map. This extinguished the Indian title to all lands in Ohio but a small area south of the St. Mary's river and north of the Greenville treaty line, marked 21 on the large map — excepting the following named small reserved tracts. The numbers of the list below correspond with those on the map:

22. To nine chiefs, Doanquod, Howoner, Rontondee, Tauyau, Rontayau, Dawatont, Manocue, Tauyaudautauson and Hadaunwaugh, a tract twelve miles square at Upper Sandusky, its center being Fort Ferree. This was ceded to the United States by treaty March 17, 1842.

23. To the same, for the use of the tribe, one mile square in a cranberry swamp on Broken Sword creek. This was ceded to the United States April 23, 1836.

24. A tract of 30,000 acres for the Seneca tribe on the Sandusky river. Ceded to United States February 28, 1831.

25. A tract to the Shawnees at Wapakoneta, ten miles square, the center being the council-house at that Indian village. Ceded to United States August 8, 1831.

26. A tract adjoining the above, on Hog creek, of twenty-five square miles. Ceded to United States August 8, 1831.

27. A tract of forty-eight square miles to the Shawnees at Lewistown. Ceded to the United States July 20, 1831.

28. For the use of the Ottawas, five miles square on Blanchard's Fork of the Auglaize. Ceded to United States August 30, 1831.

29. For the use of the Ottawas, three miles square, including Oquanoxa's village. Ceded to the United States August 30, 1831.

30. To the Delawares, nine square miles adjoining the reserve to the Wyandots on Sandusky river. Ceded to the United States August 3, 1829.

31. To the Ottawas, thirty-four square miles on the south side of the Maumee, including McCarthy's village. Ceded to the United States February 18, 1833. This included all of East Toledo and Presque Isle.

There were also fourteen small tracts granted to certain individuals, aggregating 9,480 acres.

A supplementary treaty to the above was made at St. Mary's, on September 17, 1818. By it there were additions made to seven enumerated reserves. These lands were ceded to the United States by the treaties of July 2 and August 8, 1831, January 19, 1832, April 23, 1836, and March 17, 1842.

The last treaty that concerned Ohio lands was made at St. Mary's, on October 6, 1818, by which the Miamis ceded lands in Indiana and Ohio — the area in the latter being the small tract between the Greenville treaty line and St. Mary's river, marked No. 21 on the large map. This was the last tract in Ohio held by the Indians under the claim of original possession. Nothing was left except the reserves. These were gradually ceded to the United States, at the dates noted above where each is mentioned. The last was the Wyandot reserve at Upper Sandusky, which was ceded on March 17, 1842.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL. XI. No. 2. E. O. Randall OCTOBER, 1902.

Although this number of our Quarterly, namely No. 2, Vol. XI, is only the second number of its publication year, we decide to have it conclude the eleventh volume thus making a volume complete from the July and October (1902) Quarterlies. This volume, however, will also include a complete index of the previous ten volumes and the eleventh volume herewith issued. Volume eleven therefore will have, if not the usual amount of reading matter, an adequate value in the complete index of the volumes thus far published, which has been greatly needed, and for which there has been a demand from our society members, general readers, libraries, students and professors. We thus make up the eleventh volume for the further reason that we desire to have the Quarterly begin its year with the beginning of the calendar year. Volume twelve will therefore commence with the January number for 1903. We feel confident that this arrangement will meet the entire approval of the members of our Society and the other recipients of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Quarterly.

POCKET-BOOK OF APPLESEED JOHNNY.

Through the kindness of Martin B. Bushnell, one of the members of our Society we were permitted to examine, with much interest, a leather wallet of antique style, which was once the property of John Chapman, popularly and historically known as "Johnny Appleseed." An extended account of this eccentric and philanthropic individual is given in the ninth volume (page 303) of our Society's publications. Any item of information concerning, or article of property belonging to, this peculiar character is of the greatest interest. The discovery that Johnny Appleseed had a pocket book must be to most students of his career a revelation, if not a positive contradiction, for Johnny according to the general record eschewed the luxuries of this world, and not only had no use for money, but positively refused to accept it, much less did he indulge to any extent in its use. As will be recalled he was a bachelor and lived a nomadic life, usually camping out with nothing but the canopy of heaven for his covering, or if he should stop at some hospitable cabin or house, it was his custom to lie upon the floor with his kit for a

pillow. His clothing was the cast off garments of his generous friends. He traveled like the Apostles of old "without purse or scrip." Yet it is recalled in the history of Ashland county that he once paid to a certain individual a five dollar bill as the result of some contractual obligation; so even Johnny seemed to have had his financial experiences. The purse in question bears Johnny's own autograph "John Chapman." Its genuineness is conclusively established. It was found among the "truck" in the garret of an aged dweller at Maumee, Ohio. It had been kept in that family as a relic that had "belonged to a man they called 'Appleseed John.'" The autograph is unmistakably that of Chapman, because it tallies exactly with several authentic autographs inscribed upon documents of which he was the undisputed author.

HISTORY OF PERRY COUNTY.

Prof. Clement L. Martzolff, Superintendent of the Public Schools at New Lexington, and Trustee of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, is the author of a very attractive and valuable little volume on the History of Perry county, Ohio. It embraces some 200 pages with numerous illustrations and an excellent map of the county. Mr. Martzolff is an entertaining writer and an enthusiastic student of history. The material of his book is well selected and concisely employed. He describes the geological formation of the county, beginning with the ice period and the days of the Ohio glaciers. He has an interesting chapter on the Mound Builders and their remains in Perry county, giving diagrams and pictures of the Stone Fort at Glenford and the Wilson and the Robert Mounds. He treats at some length of the Indian days, describing their trails, hunting grounds and wars. His recital of the history of the county is especially valuable, as he relates its development from the days of the French and English possession of the great section of country between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi on through to the war for independence, which gave this vast area to the United States, and led to the establishment of the Northwest Territory and to the organization of the State of Ohio. He mentions the voyage of La Salle from the lakes across the state down the Muskingum, Scioto or Miami to the Ohio. He describes the land surveyed and the famous trace of Ebenezer Zane from Wheeling to Maysville. The account of the organization of Perry county, is an excellent illustration of the way in which our counties are made. Another informing feature of his book is the statement of the provisions in the ordinance of 1787 for our state public school fund. "The Ordinance of 1787 stipulated that 'Section 16' of every Congressional township should be reserved for the maintenance of schools in that township. The object of this school grant was not merely for the furtherance of education by Congress but

was an incentive to settlers. This reservation was not open to sale or settlement, and consequently the territorial legislature could do nothing with it. When Ohio became a state these lands were granted to her to be disposed of by the Legislature. There was thus left to Ohio for school purposes the splendid endowment of 704,000 acres. The income only from this land could be used. In consequence up to 1827 they were leased and rented in various ways. The appraisement of their rental value was often low and much mismanagement caused the revenue to be of wholly inadequate value.

"The Legislature finally in 1827 provided for their sale. The money was turned into the State Treasury and the township to which the section belonged should receive six per cent. interest. Much of it was sold at once but in some parts of the state there are tracts yet unsold. In our own (Perry) county the first was sold in 1831 and the last in 1883. We have twelve 'school sections.' The townships of Pleasant and Coal, being formed from other townships do not happen to have section 16 within their limits. The amount received from their sale in Perry county was $27,829.33. This gives the schools an annual income of $1,669.76. It is divided among the twelve Congressional townships according to the amount for which their respective sections sold."

Mr. Martzolff might have added that the total fund now in the possession of or received by the state, known as the "Section 16, School Fund," is in round numbers $3,500,000, upon which the state pays to the respective townships six per cent. interest. The principal of this fund is called the "Irreducible Debt" of the state as it (the principal) cannot of course ever be paid off.

Mr. Martzolff's sketches of the churches, the old school houses and the underground railroad are all well done. He gives brief biographies of the famous natives of this county which included Janarius A. MacGahan the great English war correspondent, who is buried at New Lexington; of Jeremiah Rusk, who was Secretary of Agriculture under Benjamin Harrison; of Gen. James M. Comly, who was United States Minister to Hawaii under Rutherford B. Hayes; of Gen. Phil. Sheridan the Marshall Ney of our Union army; of Col. William A. Taylor the well known journalist and historical writer and others worthy of mention. One of the most interesting incidents in his book is the reminiscence of Morgan's Raid during which occurred the only battle of the civil war fought on Ohio soil. It was fought Sunday July 18, 1863, on the banks of the Ohio in Meigs county, where Morgan attempted to cross the river at Buffington Island. Prof. Martzolff has done a most creditable piece of work. It is just the sort of a published history that each county should have for the use of its school children and teachers as well. As the author wisely suggests, the history that is usually taught our pupils is that of some remote age and foreign country, while the occurrences which have transpired in their immediate locality, are allowed to pass by

unnoticed. A local history in the form that Mr. Martzolff puts it, is not only educational in itself, but is a palatable and potent stimulus to create and foster a taste and desire for the greater fields of historical study.

HISTORY OF MADISON TOWNSHIP.

Another of the Trustees of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Mr. George F. Bareis, of Canal Winchester, also appears in the role of an Historian in the shape of a volume on Madison Township, Franklin county. It is a production of over 500 pages and is the result, evidently, of great labor and pains on the part of the author. It presents not only a brief account of the organization of the township and its history, but gives, with much particularity, all the many subjects of historical and material nature. He gives complete lists of the early pioneers, tax-payers, land owners, township officers, members of secret fraternal societies, citizens who were influential in the various fields of public activity and private enterprise. He has the only published account that we have ever seen of the life and achievements of John S. Rarey, the world renowned horse trainer. Mr. Bareis gives a most readable account of the pioneer house and home life. "The pioneer's first cabin was built of round logs with the bark on. The chimney stood on the outside at one end, and was made of sticks and clay with clapboard roof. Many of them had only the earth for a floor; the rafters or beams as they were called ran lengthwise of the building and were spaced according to the length of the clapboards. Some of them had a loft or upper floor. No windows were needed, as the cracks in the roof and between the logs and the big wide chimney admitted plenty of light by day. Often only a blanket or skin furnished the door. All was put together without nail or iron. The following description of the building of the round log cabin is taken from Hill's History of Licking County and has been corroborated to the writer by several of the older citizens of this township, who themselves assisted in the erection of them.

"'These round log cabins were often erected ready for occupancy in a single day. The pioneer went 8 to 10 miles to a cabin-raising, arriving early in the morning where not a tree had been felled or a stone turned. Each one had some particular part to see to; three or four would lay the corner stones and the first logs, two men with axes cut the trees and logs, one with his team of oxen, a 'Lisard' and a log chain would 'snake' them in; two more with axes and cross-cut saw and frow would make the clap-boards, two more with axes, cross-cut saw and broad-ax would hew out the puncheons for the floor and flatten the upper side of the sleepers. Four skilled axmen would carry up the corners and the remainder, with skids and handspikes would roll up the logs — as soon as the joists were laid on, two men with cross-cut saw went to work

cutting out the door and chimney place and while the corner men were building up the attic and putting on the roof, the carpenters and masons of the day were putting down the puncheons, laying the hearth and building the chimney. In one corner at a distance of 6 feet from one wall and 4 feet from the other the bed post is placed, only one being needed. A hole was bored in the puncheon floor to set this post, which was usually a stick with a crotch or fork in the upper end; rails were laid from this fork to the walls and usually nice straight hickory poles form the bottom, upon which straw or leaves were placed and a blanket put on; this makes a comfortable spring bed, and was easily changed and kept clean. The heavy door was hung on wooden hinges, and all that was necessary was to pull the latch string inside and the strong wooden latch held it fast.'

"The furniture was as simple as the buildings. A cabin contained little beyond the puncheon table with its four sapling legs, its puncheon benches and blocks of wood for stools, stoves they had none. A small kettle or two answered the various purposes of bucket, boiler, and oven, and when there was company they would take the door off its hinges and thus make an addition to the table. A shelf on two wooden pins held the dishes and pewter-ware; two wooden hooks over the door held the rifle when not in use; few had clocks and they were of the 'wall sweep' kind. The wearing apparel of the whole family was hung in full view on one side of the house on wooden pins. In the loft on every beam hung seeds and roots and herbs — the medicines of those days — on the joists hung dried pumpkins, peaches, apples, beans, etc. The hominy block sat in one corner; the broom was of split hickory and the 'duster' was a wild turkey wing. These round log cabins stood many years after better houses were erected; they served for stables, sheep-pens, blacksmith shops, loom-shops, school houses and meeting houses. Every one of these first cabins are long since gone and the exact places where they stood forgotten.

"Later an improved log house was built. It was made of hewn logs, with sawed lumber for doors, windows and floors; glass also took the place of greased paper windows sometimes used in the first cabins, home-made nails were sparingly used, when nails were first used a pound cost a bushel of wheat or two bushels of corn — equivalent to a day's work — the local blacksmiths made them out of odds and ends of old worn out sickles, broken links of chains, pieces of horse shoes, etc. No house had more than two rooms. One was called the kitchen and the other 'the room,' if company came they were invited to come in 'the room,' a little later every family had its 'squirrel tail' bake oven. Corn-bread, vegetables, milk, butter, and wild meats constituted the principal subsistence and these were often scarce."

The author deserves the highest commendation for the research and painstaking accuracy his book displays. It is a store house of facts

and statistics, the value of which cannot be too highly estimated. The author has gathered and assorted material from which history may be written. Mr. Bareis has neglected no subject deserving of note. He has chapters on the school, literary entertainments, roads and railroads, coaches and mail lines, churches, graveyards, etc. The book is not crowded and its value depreciated, as is the case with most books of its kind, by having biographical sketches of anybody and everybody who are willing to pay for the same, as advertisements are put in the newspapers at so much a line. Mr. Bareis has a very sensible and succinct notice of the Mound Builders, showing that he has given the subject much enthusiastic and careful examination. We wish that more men in business life like Mr. Bareis would take a few hours off now and then and devote it to some such literary and historical recreation, as has the author of Madison Township.

STORY OF A COUNTRY CHURCH.

A Story of a Country Church, by Charles W. Hoffman, is a very naturally and interestingly recited account of the origin and eventful existence of the Presbyterian Church at Springfield, subsequently known as Springdale, one of the old town settlements some fifteen miles from Cincinnati on the Springfield and Carthage Turnpike, a settlement which for fifty years was recognized as the wealthiest and most important town in Hamilton county. It became known as "The Post Town" between Hamilton and Cincinnati, and the stage drivers, teamsters, drovers and travelers stopped here for their midday rest or to pass the night. Mr. Hoffman has the literary instinct and touch. His recital of the early pioneer days, those good old times that tried men's souls, is crisp, chatty and informing. His pages give a concise and graphic account of the mode of life, the religious devotion and constancy of the early settlers, their struggles in the western wilderness and their establishment of social and civil institutions which their descendants now so richly enjoy. Mr. Hoffman's chapters embrace the subjects of Forest Life; Some Religious Experiences, such as revivals, spread of Skepticism, etc.; The Shakers, Slavery, Abolitionism, etc. The little book is a choice bit of local history.

HISTORY OF LEBANON.

Elsewhere in this Quarterly we give the oration in full made by Prof. William H. Venable at the Lebanon Centennial, Warren county, on Thursday, September 25, 1902. In connection with that anniversary the Hon. Josiah Morrow, Lebanon's most distinguished citizen and chairman of the Centennial Committee, has issued a little volume entitled "Brief History of Lebanon, Ohio, a Centennial Sketch." It is a valuable

little compendium of the establishment and growth of the historic town, which has sent forth some of the most eminent Ohioans, among them, Thomas Corwin, John McLean of the United States Supreme Court, Joshua Collett of the Ohio Supreme Court, Thomas R. Ross, the veteran Congressman, Francis Dunlevy, President Judge of the first Circuit Court which embraced Cincinnati and the Southern third of the state, George J. Smith, President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Jeremiah Morrow, Congressman, Senator and Governor, Col. John Bigger who served thirty-four years in the Ohio Legislature and Dr. James Scott who served sixteen years in the General Assembly, Gen. Durban Ward perhaps the most popular orator of the Democratic party during his time and others of lesser note. Surely the little town of Lebanon has far more than its share of greatness.

ECLECTIC MEDICAL INSTITUTE.

Dr. Harvey Wickes Felter has published a history of the Eclectic Medical Institute of Cincinnati, Ohio, including the Worthington Medical College, The Reformed Medical School of Cincinnati and the Eclectic College of Medicine of Cincinnati, with biographical sketches of the members of the various faculties, a list of graduates arranged alphabetically and by class. While this book contains a great deal of valuable history and careful research, it is of course mainly interesting to the medical profession and those who in some way were personally connected with the institution in question. The biographical sketches that accompany the proceedings contain a great deal of information that is of general interest. For instance there are interesting biographies of such persons as Philander Chase; James Kilbourne, Thomas Morrow; James Kilbourne, Jr., grandfather of the present James Kilbourne of Columbus, and many others connected with the early history and growth of our state. These gentlemen of course were all members of the medical profession.

SPRINGFIELD CENTENNIAL.

From Prof. Benjamin F. Prince, the Editor and Secretary of the Springfield General Centennial Committee, we have received a neatly bound volume of some 300 pages, giving a full account of the proceedings of the Centennial celebration of Springfield, Ohio, held at that place August 4 to 10, 1901. Professor Prince holds the chair of history and political science in Wittenberg University, is one of the Trustees, appointed by the Governor, of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and withal an enthusiastic and painstaking student of Ohio history. The Springfield Centennial was an event of much interest and importance, especially to the local people. Their

program was divided into a Religious Day, upon which was celebrated the origin of the churches and religious organizations; The Formal Opening Day, on which addresses were made upon A Century of Commercial Life, the Incorporation of Springfield and its Government and upon Its Manufacturing Interests; on Pioneer Day, the histories of the Bench and Bar and the Medical profession were presented by able representatives; upon Military Day addresses were made by Gen. Keifer, Governor Nash, Col. James Kilbourne and Ex-Governor Bushnell; there were also a Fraternal Day, devoted to the interests of the Societies; an Agricultural and Labor Day; a day devoted to the Educational Interests, which included the work of the women during the Civil War, the work of the present women's clubs, temperance societies, etc. The addresses upon these various occasions are of course included in the contents of the volume. There are also many illustrations of former historical scenes and modern buildings. There are portraits of many of Springfield's historic personages and living influential citizens. The celebration attracted large crowds to the City of Springfield, and was, in arrangement and accomlishment all that the patriotic and history loving people could desire.

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

We are indebted to Mr. Morris P. Ferris, Secretary, 32 Broadway, New York, for a bound copy of the proceedings of the 3d Annual Meeting of the New York State Historical Association, held at Caldwell, New York, Tuesday July 30, 1901. The New York State Historical Association was incorporated on the 21st of March, 1899, and is therefore a comparatively new institution. Its object is "To promote and encourage original historical research, and to disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the state by means of lectures and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects; to gather books, manuscripts, pictures and relics relating to the early history of the state, and to establish a museum at Caldwell, Lake George. Also to acquire by purchase, gift, devise or otherwise, the title to or custody and control of historic spots and places." The Society has already a long list of members residing in various cities of New York state. The character and standing of its members are sufficient evidence that this society will exert a wide and potent influence along the lines of its work. During the proceedings of this meeting in question interesting papers were read upon such topics as Fort Ticonderoga; Ethan Allen; Lord Howe; Legend of Duncan Campbell; Montcalm; The Evolution of American Free Government, etc.

NOTICE.

This Index herewith issued covers the subjects and contents of the first ten volumes of the annual publications of the Ohio State Archœological & Historical Society and also of the July and October quarterlies 1902 which two quarterlies with this complete index comprises Volume XI. Volume XII will therefore begin with the January quarterly for 1903.

E. O. RANDALL, *Secy.*

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